The Mennonite Quarterly Review

VOLUME XXIV APRIL 1950 NUMBER TWO

CONTENTS

FOURTH MENNONITE WORLD CONFERENCE NUMBER

EDITORIAL 102

THE MENNONITES OF GERMANY, 1936-1948, AND THE PRESENT OUTLOOK 103
Dirk Cattepoel, Crefeld, Germany

THE MENNONITES OF HOLLAND, 1936-1948, AND THE PRESENT OUTLOOK 111
H. W. Meihuizen, The Hague, Netherlands

THE MENNONITES OF SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE, 1936-1948, AND THE PRESENT OUTLOOK 118
Samuel Gerber, Les Mottes, Switzerland

THE CATASTROPHE OF THE WEST PRUSSIAN MENNONITES 124
Emil Haendiges, Monsheim, Germany

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF MENNONITE COLONIZATION 130
J. Winfield Fretz, North Newton, Kansas

MENNONITE REFUGEES: OUR CHALLENGE 136
C. F. Klassen, Frankfurt, Germany, and Abbottsford, B.C.

CARVING A HOME OUT OF THE PRIMEVAL FOREST 142
J. W. Warkentin, Asuncion, Paraguay, and Hillsboro, Kansas

MENNONITE PEACE ACTION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD 149
H. S. Bender, Goshen, Indiana

CHRISTIAN NONRESISTANCE: ITS FOUNDATION AND ITS OUTREACH 156
G. F. Hershberger, Goshen, Indiana

THE LIMITATIONS OF NONCONFORMITY 163
Paul Mininger, Goshen, Indiana

BERKELEY BAPTIST DIVINITY SCHOOL
SANDFORD FLEMING LIBRARY

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES 170

Publications of the Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein in Germany 1936-1950—*Harold S. Bender*

Mitteilungen des Sippenverbandes der Danziger Mennoniten-Familien Epp-Kauenhowen-Zimmerman—Harold S. Bender

Die Mennonitische Lehrerzeitung—John G. Rempel

Mennonitische Volkswarte—John G. Rempel

Proceedings of the Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems —*Carl Kreider*

Mennonite Life—Melvin Gingerich

The Mennonite Community—Melvin Gingerich

Mennonite Historical Bulletin—Melvin Gingerich

"Faith of Our Fathers," a Series of Historical Sketches in the *Mennonite Weekly Review* (Newton, Kansas) by Cornelius Krahn—*Harold S. Bender*

BOOK REVIEWS 186

Robert Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries: Its Genius and Its Literature*
Reviewed by John C. Wenger

Melvin Gingerich, *Service for Peace: A History of Mennonite Civilian Public Service*
Reviewed by J. Winfield Fretz

John C. Wenger, *The Doctrines of the Mennonites*
Reviewed by Chester K. Lehman

Elsie Singmaster, *I Heard of a River*
Reviewed by John Umble

Howard Charles, *Before You Decide*
Reviewed by Don. E. Smucker

Walter H. Hohmann and Lester Hostetler, *The Mennonite Hymnary*

Lester Hostetler, *Handbook to the Mennonite Hymnary*
Reviewed by Dwight Weldy

EDITORIAL

THE PROGRAM OF THE FOURTH MENNONITE WORLD CONFERENCE WHICH WAS held at Goshen, Indiana, and North Newton, Kansas, August 3-10, 1948, contained a large number of excellent addresses on themes of major concern for the Mennonite church today. The sixteen sessions treated thirteen different major themes in addition to the opening sessions at Goshen and North Newton. Thirty-eight major addresses were given, not counting the conference sermons, by outstanding Mennonite speakers and leaders from Holland, Germany, France, Switzerland, and Paraguay, in addition to the United States and Canada. All of the addresses, together with the entire conference proceedings have been published in a single volume under the title *Proceedings of the Fourth Mennonite World Conference* by the Mennonite Central Committee of Akron, Pennsylvania, which sponsored the conference. By kind permission of the publishers the REVIEW is able to present in this special World Conference issue a selection of those addresses which have the greatest historical and general significance, to the total of nine.

(Continued on page 196)

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Vol. XXIV No. 2

The Mennonites of Germany, 1936-1948, and the Present Outlook

Dirk Cattepoel

What the Mennonites of Germany have experienced and endured, lost and rebuilt, since the Amsterdam World Congress of 1936 is mainly determined by the events of the political background. And another reason makes it necessary to speak about this political background first; for the German, especially if he calls himself a Christian, will have to answer this one question before all others: What is your attitude toward all that happened in your country and to other nations through Nazism?

In the years since 1945, much has been said about the collective guilt of the German people. Among Christians it should be evident that there is only one genuine collective guilt: the guilt of all mankind before God. But as a Christian from Germany I would confess with all my heart how deeply it burdens us that so much distress, so much cruelty, and so much destruction has come over others through men of our nation, and I would like to appeal particularly to you, my Dutch and French brothers and sisters: during the years since 1940, terrible things have happened to your people through representatives of mine, so much, that from the human angle forgiveness seems impossible. And yet, for Christ's sake I ask you: Forgive us! and thus grant us—in the name of Christ—a new beginning of Christian brotherliness!

But as a Christian from Germany I have also to tell you about some experiences which, perhaps, have become our privilege above many other peoples. First, this one that we Christians can never take our responsibility before God and the world seriously enough. Surely, movements like Communism, Nazism, Fascism, and Socialism sprang up only because those in places of leadership—and who else but the Christian should be considered as leaders—did not see and could not solve the problems which piled up upon our modern world. In all these movements you can also

hear the cry for merciful, helping love, the cry of the man who fell among thieves and murderers between Jerusalem and Jericho; and how often have we Christians been just like the priest and the Levite who paid no attention when they passed the needy man by. Often I have asked myself, as a Mennonite who traditionally tends to abstain from public life, if we, too, are not responsible for a part of this Christian guilt against the modern world.

Secondly, we have on the other hand the experience that today, especially in the political sphere, Satan enjoys putting on the mask of world benefactor and philanthropist. One is often asked how it could be possible that convinced Christians—even Mennonites—were able to fall in with Hitler's views. Right, but then Nazism did not approach us with concentration camps, religious persecution, extinction of the mentally ill, and gassing of the Jews; but with the motto, "Freedom and Bread!" with a program for political and economical reconstruction, with social measures for the working classes, with a splendid welfare organization, and with a youth work doing justice to all the idealism of youth. Everything else—the black and the terrible—was kept in the background as much as possible and did not actually come to light before 1938 when the synagogues were burned down. It may characterize the general ignorance of the whole situation when I say that I myself learned the names of the concentration camps, Auschwitz, Belsen, and Buchenwald, for the first time from an American soldier's magazine in an American prisoner of war camp. From that time, however, resistance against Nazism kept increasing, especially on the Christian side. In any case, it was far greater than could become known in the outside world with the meager chances of communication, and there was many a brave, silent struggle, and many a tragedy. There was not only *one* Niemoeller! But I will not try to excuse here much and everything—at least every German is guilty of political error—but I would point out Christ's word: "Judge not, that ye be not judged," and I would emphasize that nothing is so essential as sober, clear, and penetrating Christian watchfulness regarding our present political movements.

For this is the third time that we have experienced that Hitlerism is a highly infectious disease for all nations. What has happened in our country since 1945 to P.O.W.'s, refugees, internees, and even women and girls, is not a record of glorious deeds in the history of humanity; and as for a democracy of freedom, we have not as yet sensed much of it. All the more, however, the Christians of Germany call to the Christians of the world, that nothing but the love of Christ and Christ's forgiveness should be the future foundation of public life, if peace in the world is to have a future at all. The Christians of Germany have learned that the Gospel must never be a message for the small circle and the private corner only, but that it is a message to the whole world and for the whole world!

As I stated earlier, from 1936 to 1948 the Mennonite fate in Germany took shape upon the basis of the political background. There were not special Nazi measures to suppress Mennonitism as such; what happened was part of the general movement to reduce Christian influence on public life. So, from 1937 on, those who were party members were urged to withdraw from the church, although on the whole and particularly in comparison with conditions in the Catholic and Protestant Church, this

attempt was without any success. Despite the most severe pressure, only ten out of 500 members withdrew from our church in Krefeld. Youth work in the church was very severely handicapped, however, first through compulsory Hitler Youth meetings being held at the regular church service hour on Sunday forenoons, and then through a prohibition of all youth activity such as social meetings, hiking, and camping, with the exception of purely Biblical religious studies. Attempts were also made to estrange youth from their churches through direct influence. For some time the oath problem threatened to lead to a conflict with the Nazi state, and only later on did we German Mennonites learn how near we had come to absolute suppression because of this question. That it never went as far as that, that the Nazi state even agreed to the Mennonite requests—as in the case of the military oath of the army—was not due to compromise on the part of the German Mennonites, for all representatives of the German Mennonite churches unreservedly refused the oath. The chief reason for this tolerance by the state must have been that it was concerned about the larger Mennonite groups in the Ukraine and overseas, especially in Canada, who were esteemed for their adherence to the German language.

As for internal church life, a strong desire for mutual contact and learning to know each other was sensed among our Mennonites who live so scattered about Germany, even before the outbreak of the second World War. This desire expressed itself primarily in the German Mennonite general meetings which took place every second or third year, and the last and fifth of which, held at Krefeld, may be called a high point of brotherly encounter. The German Mennonites have always been faced with the problem of how to bridge the differences in sociology and in outlook which exist between the city and the country congregations, between Northwest, South, and East; and a promising attempt was initiated in these meetings (Mennonitentage).

But the outbreak of the war put an abrupt end to all the past. For a brief while the campaign against Poland in September, 1939, threatened the congregations in the Danzig area. But very soon worse news came from the Mennonite communities in the Polish district, especially from Deutsch-Kasun and Deutsch-Wymyschle. Here the retreating Poles had slain elders and preachers, kidnapped individuals, and plundered and devastated a great deal. So first aid was necessary, and much could be accomplished in a brotherly way by Mennonites from eastern, western, and southern Germany, and further by the MCC through their representatives at Berlin. During the political reorganization of that region, the congregations of the Polish area joined the union of German Mennonite churches. The Lemberg congregation had already had to give up home and land since their section became Russian territory, and sought a new home in the so-called Warthegau. Quite in line with their anti-Christian policy, the Nazis tried to eliminate any community settlement of families of the same creed. Yet a partial settlement of this kind took effect in two villages.

In 1940 the horrors of Hitler's war engulfed western Europe and caused our Dutch and French brethren bitter distress. But the West German churches soon realized that a war was going on. Already in the fall of 1940, the Krefeld Mennonite Church was damaged by an air raid

for the first time, and for the second time in 1942. The Emden congregation, too, soon experienced considerable damage to their church and parsonage. But all this was nothing in comparison to the events of the following years. Town after town was laid in ruins. In 1943 all the buildings of the Krefeld congregation—church, parsonage, old people's home, and six buildings of an institution for the poor—were burned down. A little later everything was destroyed at Emden, and after that the churches at Gronau and Ludwigshafen were lost. So Hamburg is today the only city congregation still in possession of church buildings of their own; miraculously saved, church and parsonage there still stand amid the ruins and heaps of rubble.

The events of war rendered church life more and more difficult. The preachers, elders, and deacons were drafted into the army; churches and church buildings were destroyed or heavily damaged; the members of the congregation were bombed out or evacuated to the countryside. Regular instruction for children became impossible, and in the end even the church services could not be held on account of the danger from air raids.

Meanwhile, however, further blows of fate, even more terrible, had been foreshadowed. In the fall of 1943 the German armies streamed back through the Ukraine and took with them all who did not want to join the Russians. So the meager remnants of the Ukraine Mennonites moved westward with them. I personally witnessed their departure, and I still feel pain in recalling that picture of the abandonment of the cultural and economic achievements of long years of hard work. These Mennonites too, like the Galician Mennonites of 1939, were destined for the Warthegau. But they were granted only a short respite after their escape! In the winter of 1944-45 the Russians broke into Polish territory with tremendous masses of troops and pushed forward a wedge in the direction of Danzig. Terrified flight in the bitterest cold ensued. This was the beginning of the great German eastern tragedy which has not yet come to an end. It is so horrible and so great that no one but a personal witness ought to give his impressions. I will, therefore, only state here that what has befallen the Mennonitism of eastern Germany since 1945 is the most significant and the most agonizing event that has occurred in German Mennonite history for centuries. Since then two thirds of all German Mennonites are homeless refugees with no property, no possessions, no clothing, and often even with no relatives left, without a prospect of ever returning to their own homes, and with no hope for a new existence in overcrowded western Germany.

In May, 1945, the war came to an end, and by and by the pale sun of a first peace rose above battlefields and ruins. Actually, only personal statements concerning that time are justified, since each individual experienced it personally, without connection with others. So, here is my own report! Without news from home for over half a year, I went looking for wife and children where I knew they had gone after I had lost my property. I found them in good health. Then, however, I stretched out my tentacles searching for the congregation. On trucks, on freight cars during brief railroad trips, on foot, over emergency bridges—in the end I reached Krefeld. Here I inquired who was still there and who was prepared to start reconstruction. After some time there I found a study; for the beginning, table and chair had to do. The first church service was planned.

Since our church was destroyed, we asked and were granted hospitality in a Protestant church building, although only for Saturday afternoons.

Without newspapers, without mail, news had to be passed on from mouth to mouth; and yet, all who could come did come, and we all greeted each other as though we had been resurrected from the dead. During the following weeks, the first thing to be taken up again was youth work, which had suffered so long under the Hitler prohibition. Then lectures were held which were thought important for general self-evaluation and self-examination. But here, too, what difficulties! It makes me smile to think of those days, when I had to submit to the British Commander in English translation, for his approval, every sermon planned and every poster before printing. Often it meant days of struggle! But we were fortunate and successful. The congregation found itself, rose above daily worries to a deeper insight into the fundamental problems of its position, and sensed new responsibility. Such or similar must have been the situation in the other German Mennonite congregations also, of whose lot we learned the details only in the course of time. Soon, also, the first refugee brethren arrived from the East, Germans from Russia who were sorely afraid of being handed over to the Russians and deported to Siberia like so many others, others from West Prussia and Danzig, utterly poor. They were all taken care of as far as possible, and much has been done also by our German brethren despite their own poverty. But in the end in the face of constantly increasing numbers—the Hamburg church with its approximately 350 members became all at once a center for about 3,000 refugee Mennonites —all our own help was bound to remain a drop in the ocean. It was a terrible time! You saw the overwhelming need and yet could not do anything effective. And beyond that there was the increasing want among our own people, starvation in the town, and in the countryside, too, the shortage of housing, the lack of textiles and, chiefly, of footwear, the severe daily struggle for mere existence. In these days we made the experience that it is not the harsh blows of fate that break a man and make him apathetic, but the frustrating struggle for daily bread and living.

It was, then, glad tidings when in 1946 the American brethren of the MCC turned up also in Germany and promised their help. They were allowed to start their relief program first in the American, then in the British, and eventually also in the French Zone. The Russian Zone is still being looked after only indirectly through the other zones. First, gift parcels arrived; I can never forget that hour when I unpacked, together with my wife, the very first gift parcel with baby linen, some food, and soap. That was a modest beginning! Today, many a Mennonite preacher's or elder's home is a regular storehouse with textile, footwear, and food departments. Trucks deliver the goods, a distribution network is spread over the whole of the zone area, and many, many emaciated and starving refugees, bombed-out homeless people and children come and get what was sent for them. Heaps of mail are piled up on the pastor's desk, innumerable requests are uttered; here they need advice, there admonition, and here assistance. There were times when about 500 people daily entered and left my house! However, it has been a continual joy to be able to do all this work "In the Name of Christ," and not under a welfare organization,

not as a socialistic or communistic humanitarian program, but as the proclamation of the Gospel! And I know that I am speaking in the name of many thousands, when I at this time thank all those who sent their gifts "In the Name of Christ!" How I would have loved to bring you a mother's happy smile and a child's cry of delight as a tangible token of our gratitude!

What the war had interrupted was resumed after the war—the drawing closer together of all German Mennonites, transcending all differences in tradition and regionalism. All our meetings since the great disaster of 1945 have been held in this spirit. The fact that the German Mennonites now publish one common paper, the *Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten,* for all groups is, in my opinion, another bond of unity. Especially the youth from North and East and South and West have found each other. The two student retreats, at the Thomashof in the fall of 1947 and this spring at Krefeld—the latter with welcome Dutch participation—were a climax of this development, and all foreign observers of the retreats reported how much they appreciated the frankness of the youth and their readiness to take their stand for Christ's cause. These common experiences have their effect in every area. Everywhere the youth have now formed groups to study the Bible, to discuss the problems of our time, to do practical service. Above all, however, they are eager to learn, in order to make up for what they missed through Hitler's prohibition and the war. A surprising delight in serious intellectual work prevails, and even the sharpest critic will hardly find a trace of Nazi revolutionary views.

A particularly difficult problem of German Mennonitism is the spiritual care of the many scattered refugees. The scarcity of transportation—you find hardly anyone with a good bicycle—the high travel costs, the lack of suitable places for services, make it almost impossible to maintain regular pastoral care. Although in areas with an especially dense population of Mennonite refugees itinerant preachers have been engaged, and elsewhere the MCC assists with trucks and other amenities; and in several districts refugee congregations have formed that keep their own preachers—all this is far too little. We are particularly concerned about a Christian-Mennonite education of the refugee youth. There is often a danger of their losing contact with the Mennonite faith altogether and of their joining the Protestant church or even the Roman Catholic, which is just at present so very active. The recent currency reform, which devalued all money values by 90 per cent overnight, has made it impossible for the previously wealthy city congregations to continue the heavy financial support required for the pastoral care of the refugees. Each individual now has a hard struggle to meet his own needs. So this pastoral care for refugees is a sphere which cannot be recommended warmly enough to all those who are eager to help. For, my friends, we in Germany who have to struggle for our daily bread have so much more deeply experienced in these days the truth of Christ's word that "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."

In public life in Germany today in general the name "Mennonite" has a particularly good repute, just like the name "Quaker" after the first World War. One does not quite know what to make of us though, since we are barely fifteen thousand persons among a sixty million popula-

tion. Recently I heard someone call us "Mammonites." Quite likely he was trying to get a more concrete conception of us! However, this appreciation by the public is not our own desert; it is wholly that of our American brethren who have supplied thousands of needy, no matter of what creed, with food, clothing, and shoes, in their most generous relief projects. Often this relief work is done in co-operation with a local Mennonite congregation, as at Hamburg, Gronau, Krefeld, and in the French Zone.

One consequence of this relief work of the Mennonite Central Committee is that there are many inquiries about the nature and the doctrines of the Mennonite faith. In such cases we feel doubly the lack of suitable literature. The shortage of paper makes it almost impossible to publish even the smallest tracts, and in addition there is now the shortage of money. True, thanks to American help, the already mentioned *Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten* could be published half a year ago, the only periodical for the time being. True, the lifework of the unforgettable Christian Neff and Christian Hege, the three-volume *Mennonite Lexicon,* is being completed and a fourth volume, a supplement, prepared, also with considerable American support. But what we sorely miss is a suitable book for the instruction of youth and for enlightening all who are interested in Mennonitism. The future will have to fill this gap!

This, however, leads me to the question as to what special tasks the future has for us German Mennonites. Some of these tasks I should now like to briefly describe. An exceedingly difficult future problem, in my opinion, is the greatly reduced number of German Mennonites. Already, several thousand of the refugee brethren from Russia who fled to us have left us for Canada and Paraguay; already, several hundred West Prussian Mennonites are getting ready for emigration overseas from the camps of Denmark. And many of the West Prussian Mennonites in Germany are waiting for the earliest opportunity to find a new home and a new existence elsewhere, be it in France with the brethren there, be it in Paraguay, be it somewhere else. In any case, we have to reckon with the fact that there will shortly be only a very small number of us remaining in Germany, perhaps only five, perhaps six thousand souls. It will then be a question of existence or nonexistence for these Mennonites who are geographically scattered over the Northwest and the South, to stand together, draw nearer together, and work together in every possible way. In practice it will at first have to be an absolute working hand-in-hand of the two existing conferences, the *Vereiningung der Deutschen Mennonitengemeinden* and the *Badisch-Wuerttembergisch Bayrischer Mennoniten-Verband.* The ultimate goal must be a complete merger. It seems further important to me that we become a missionary church again! The many persecutions and the reluctantly granted toleration of the past centuries have made the German Mennonites highly family- and tradition-minded. Naturally, this trait has contributed much to their preservation, but it does bring with it the danger that we may forget what it was that inspired our forefathers, when they demanded baptism upon confession of faith for adults, which means a man's own personal decision to follow Christ! We German Mennonites are often far too exclusive and far too fond of being among ourselves. We will have to throw the gates wide open again; we must again become evangelizing

congregations. I am confident that among the many voices of the Christian groups today we Mennonites still have a word to speak in the name of Christ, which may be an answer for many, many people.

A second future task, I believe, is a deepened brotherly exchange with the Mennonite brethren all over the world. We should not find such an exchange difficult; for though there are few of us, we are, in our marked variations, the countertypes of the different Mennonite types there are in the world: the West Prussian type is much the same as that from Russia and its descendants in America. The South German is approximately the Swiss and French type and its descendants also in America. The West German type, lastly, resembles the Dutch very much. But this is not merely a question of a possibility; it is one of a necessity! Just because we shall soon be so few, the danger of developing a sectarian narrowness is very great, especially under the restricted conditions under which Germany has been living since 1933 and is very likely to go on experiencing for a long time to come. A world-wide spirit is needed. How we felt freer already, when our American and now also our Dutch brethren came to see us! And how happy we are that we as the first German Mennonites after the second World War are allowed to come over here to America to see what your life, your ways, and your work are like. Is there anything more natural than that brothers in Christ clasp hands and love each other like brothers, and that where dark shadows from the past fall between them, they forgive each other like brothers? I know that the Mennonites of Germany share the burden of their people, which means that they have to wait until they are asked. But it has always been the prerogative of every Christian, even the guilty Christian, to be permitted to entreat his brethren. If we, the delegated representatives of the German Mennonites, can find here listening ears for our appeals, then our mission will be abundantly blessed!

In conclusion I must mention a third future task, because it is actually the first, and the last, and the crowning one. We German Mennonites have had to experience in our own country and in the most terrible way, the outcome of a world without Christ, and we have understood that amid the dangers of the present time but one decision remains: Christ or antichrist. And this antichrist comes with many allurements and many tempting slogans of which we have also experienced more than enough! All the more we feel called upon to search sincerely and deeply for Christ. It is beautiful and promising to notice how much especially our youth is trying to come to a new understanding of Christ, and how much here and there in our congregations this new appreciation of Christ is growing. But infinitely much remains to be done. In my baptismal instruction I was taught: "To be a Mennonite means to want to be a Christian!" To follow Christ on the basis of personally meeting Him and personally experiencing Him, that is to be a Mennonite! Our forefathers professed this, our fathers maintained it! We as sons must attain it so that it may be truth and life to our grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Then, also, in our future the motto of Menno Simons which he received from the Apostle Paul, can come to life: "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ!"

The Mennonites of Holland, 1936-1948, and the Present Outlook

Hendrik W. Meihuizen

Whoever looks back at the period elapsed since the World Congress of 1936 will be struck by the fundamental cohesion between Dutch Mennonite life before the war and that of today. Superficial reviewers would think that nothing has been changed. It would seem that material poverty is all that is left to the Dutch Mennonites after the years of occupation. It may appear that the church, more or less unconsciously, goes on in the old familiar ways, but inwardly there is a growing certainty that the old ways were not so bad after all. It may be that some younger ministers and laymen clamored for a new direction, but more of us feel a profound gratitude that our denomination has survived.

Of course, there are some problems that have existed for years. Before the war our leading men were occupied with the improving of our organization, with the social work we had to do, with our position amid the other churches. But, whereas these subjects at that time only interested individual Mennonites, nowadays they seem to concern the whole church. Therefore, one may say that the spiritual gain of the bitter years has caused a greater unity in our brotherhood, to which material distress has undoubtedly contributed. When in the days of May, 1940, our churches at Wageningen and Rotterdam were destroyed, it was clear that it concerned us all very deeply and not only two of our one hundred and thirty congregations. When in the same year the General Mennonite Association (A.D.S.) could not meet, as the means of transport were wanting, this meeting appeared to be more than a mere opportunity to hear the report of the leaders. When after two years the *Zondagsbode,* our central weekly, was prohibited, this periodical, considered by part of the church as a rather unimportant little magazine, appeared to be a symbol of our unity. When the studying of our future ministers was made almost impossible by the closing of the Amsterdam University and by the deportation of the younger people to Germany to work there, this was a severe blow to our congregations, not only because they threatened to be vacant for a few years, but because they experienced that when one member suffers, it is felt by all. When the western parts of Holland were stricken by famine, the Mennonites living in the eastern part of the country deeply felt their inability to help. The food parcels sent by them were often stolen on the way. And when the battles of Arnhem and Nijmegen restored some hope for their own liberation, the other congregations were still compelled to be but passive spectators of the need of their fellow men. And now that the war is over, there appears a dawn of fraternal alliance. The self-government of the congregations, formerly considered to be the most precious possession, has become less important. A slumbering, and often underestimated, feeling of brotherhood has grown.

Though the local congregation is naturally dearest to us, the sense of the value of the brotherhood has been strengthened. The proper work in the congregation—pastoral care—is a matter of course, but also courses,

Bible and confirmation classes, meetings, were better attended than before the war. In former times considered either as a matter of course or more or less as a luxury, they turned out to be essential to life itself under the lack of freedom imposed on us by the Germans. During the outwardly unhampered divine service there was nearly always a spy present to betray the so-called political views voiced by the minister. For meetings of the members and similar gatherings, the aim of which was obviously not preaching of the Gospel, permission had to be asked of the Attorney-General; a meeting of more than twenty people in a private house was forbidden. For young men it became dangerous to go to confirmation classes; they risked being taken to Germany for the "Arbeitseinsatz" (forced labor service). There was no heating and no light. Nobody was allowed in the streets after eight o'clock p.m. But there was a contact and an understanding between the ministers and their parishioners as never before, and the need of an outward manifestation of spiritual life proved to be great. Prayers became more profound.

The value of some possession is generally only appreciated when one is about to lose it. So it was with us. Congregation and brotherhood appeared to be dear and indispensable to us.

With these feelings we started to work again after the liberation. We are often called individualists, perhaps rightly. But in essential matters we have always considered each other's feelings. The war has only sped up a process which had begun long ago. It is obvious that when congregations have autonomy there is the danger that every congregation itself, without minding others, decides its own course of action. The same holds good for our various societies. Therefore, it was a memorable, but not incomprehensible deed when on July 4, 1940, the delegates of practically all the boards of our brotherhood declared themselves placed under the leadership of the A.D.S. for the duration of the war. It certainly was a wise thing to do, with the German occupation not leaving much room for all sorts of private enterprise, but the desire for this unity was present, and after the war it was to appear again. The A.D.S. is often asked to lead, that is to say, insofar as this leadership does not encroach on the spiritual independence of the subsections of the brotherhood. The consequence was that in 1946 the executive committee of the A.D.S. could act as a central body; and, although calling forth criticism, this was actually accepted. With this fact is affiliated the work of the Committee for Reorganization, instituted to fulfill the wishes of the 1947 general assembly. (This assembly is the meeting of delegates of the congregations with the A.D.S.). The work done by the Reorganization Committee is designed to render the A.D.S. the generally accepted form of organization of the brotherhood. In consequence, the Executive Committee will be the working committee, which, of course, can be called to account by the annual general assembly of delegates, but actually will be the leader.

This leadership of the A.D.S. was to manifest itself first in matters of organization. There used to be a great variety in the pensioning of our ministers and ministers' widows. Those who became ministers after 1942 were provided for by a central organization, by which a pension fund was called into being by the A.D.S. at once after the liberation. In 1946 the

A.D.S. rightly concentrated the collection of money for destroyed churches, rectories, and vergers' houses, in its relief fund, whereas before the war and in the first years of the occupation the organization for relief work during mobilization—and wartime—had seen to that. In 1947 the A.D.S. set up a committee for newly arisen needs, and in 1948 it took up the improvement of salaries and pensions, now often inadequate. It may be that the war or the aftermath of war led to this; there was a tendency in this direction as early as 1937.

The war also compelled us to define the limits of the sphere of action of the various parishes, and to enlarge it greatly in some cases, so that no matter where people lived, they could find a spiritual home, but the Committee for Scattered Members with its visiting ministers had already for a long time taken to heart the fate of those living outside the sphere of ministry of the local congregations, whereas since 1936 a special committee tried to collect as much as possible the addresses of those who had left a congregation without having had themselves registered in another one. Besides this we may gratefully mention here that new congregations and districts were established shortly after the last World Conference (1936), whereas in November, 1939, a church, built at Heerlen, became the center of this extensive parish. After about ten years of preliminary activities the congregation in the Wieringermeer, the first reclaimed part of the Zuider Zee, could be founded. A few years later it was already swept away when the enclosing dike was bombed, and the land was flooded again, but it may be expected that, with the energetic restoration of the three villages, the parish will also rise again. In the northeast polder, the second region wrested from the sea, a parish is sure to be also founded. The Mennonites, who have settled there, have been taken care of by the neighboring congregations since 1943.

But what about the religious life of the Dutch Mennonites? Its care naturally involved problems which called forth wide-scope investigations. A Committee for Spiritual Interests was appointed on October 6, 1941, consisting of the representatives of the various subsections of the brotherhood, which advises the Executive Committee of the A.D.S. The great number of vacancies is one of the most important problems. About a seventh part of our congregations have no minister; so neighboring ministers are responsible for them. Our principle that we are our own priests makes it possible for members who have not been trained at a university or seminary to officiate. In the years of the occupation this happened as a matter of course, when an "emergency" liturgy was on every pulpit in case the minister should be prevented from coming by transport difficulties, or for the bitter reason of his being in hiding or even in prison. The logical consequence was, however, that laymen could also be called to full ministerial responsibility. There are some of these "ministers" now, who give full satisfaction to their congregations. But the brotherhood as a whole only accepts this situation on the condition that such a tenure is either contracted for a fixed number of years, or that it will expire when a university-trained minister is available. We expect this for all congregations in about five years. There is a sufficient number of students at the seminary to fill the vacancies. Meanwhile, assistants are also being trained by the A.D.S.

to be attached to the vacant congregations who, on being replaced by a minister, will be placed at the disposal of the larger city congregations.

Of late years there has been an increasing interest in the unique character of the Mennonite brotherhood, but not owing to the war, though the occupying government made some suspicious inquiries about us. Neither was it the consequence of the fact that, during the war, some of us were compelled to worship at other churches as a result of the difficulties in transport. In attending the service in other places, they found that the same Gospel they had been used to hearing was being preached there. That discovery made the Mennonites better realize the characteristics of which they had already been conscious before. As early as 1929 a written pamphlet by P. Vis for our younger members was published, running to a third edition before the war. In 1941 we were enriched by the simple booklet on our history, written by J. Yntema, called *We Mennonites.* A fourth edition was published the other day. Shortly after the war the two Groningen ministers, H. Bremer and L. D. G. Knipscheer, wrote a concise book on Mennonites, also containing a more systematic part about the conception of the church, baptism, Holy Communion, etc., called *Who Are We?* Last year N. van der Zijpp wrote an illuminating essay on Menno Simons, whereas this year a survey of our characteristics and peculiarities was given. I can only briefly mention the first part of the second volume of the standard work of Professor Kuehler, published in 1942. Unfortunately, the professor had only prepared one single chapter of the second part for the press before he passed away. How much we are interested in these matters may also appear from the many answers in the *Algemeen Doopsgezind Weekblad,* (our church paper) to the article, "What Is the Church?" describing both the essence of the church and its place in our lives. The members of the Committee for Consideration of Doctrine assembled during two winters and studied the general Christian creed and our characteristic variation. This committee stimulates the consciousness of our peculiar character by regionally summoned meetings of ministers. Here the topics are discussed once more. In the end the committee hopes to give some conclusions which could be published as a guide for personal reflection.

When in 1938 Karl Barth rejected infant baptism, it stirred some of us; they felt rather pleased that this theologian, an authority on West European theology, did justice to our age-old views; now that his conception of the Christian Church is approaching ours, we are greatly interested in the further development of the discussions.

Then I may mention that a new portrait of Menno Simons is being etched by the artist, Arend Hendriks, who has thoroughly studied Menno's works, the literature about him, and the existing portraits. When it is ready, it is sure to come up to our expectations.

Speaking of publications, the *Weekblad* has supplied an urgent need since October 3, 1946. At once after the war the *Noodbrug* (*Emergency Bridge*) appeared at irregular times, but now this periodical reaches practically all Mennonite families every week, and is greatly appreciated as providing orientation and information. A separate leaf is inserted monthly with local material for the different congregations. The *Weekblad*

is a strong bond among the Mennonites of Holland. It proved to be as much a manifestation of our unity as the new hymnbook, now in general use, the initiative for which was taken as early as 1937, but which did not appear until 1944. Owing to the shortage of paper, it did not come into general use until recently. So at present we have one and the same hymnbook, which is fairly well appreciated everywhere, instead of the six or seven different ones formerly used. In order to promote greater unity in the forms which we use for the ceremonies, a committee appointed for that purpose compiled a book containing liturgies for ordinary and special services. Its publication was retarded by shortage of binding materials, but it will appear before long now.

The publications on our unique characteristics clearly show, however, that not all those who have been entered as members are really active members. How much the others were conscious of the fact that the interest of these members should be stimulated may appear from the question put in 1937 at the Assembly, how we could activate those members who had become indifferent with regard to the brotherhood. A committee in 1938 issued a report on the possibility of making the work of the ministers more efficient in this respect, which was supported by a pamphlet in 1941. The problem appeared to be acute in the large cities. The number of Mennonites living in the seven largest congregations turned out to be exactly half of the total number of members of our brotherhood, but having only a fifth of the total number of ministers. This unequal proportion was still existent after the war, so that in 1947, as a result of the Assembly meeting, some committees were set up which reported at the last A.D.S. meeting. We hope this report may contribute to the activation of the congregations and particularly of the indifferent members. For the rest there is no reason for complaining about the expressions of Mennonite spiritual life. Our Youth Union celebrated its twentieth anniversary this year with two important meetings, manifestations of living faith. The Peace Group resumed its work for the principle of nonresistance, which had been handicapped by the war; the Group is doing this in a somewhat different way from the prewar Work Group against military service. How much the ministers occupy themselves with this problem appears by the fact that the General Dutch Mennonite Preachers' Association in its meeting of September 4, 1939, thoroughly discussed the change in the attitude toward the problem of waging war.

By the side of these problems raised in our midst there are others thrust upon us from outside. First, we knew ourselves confronted with the ideology of Nazism. A turbulent meeting of the General Dutch Mennonite Preachers' Association on April 1, 1940, occupied itself with the totalitarian conception of life, both of National Socialism and of Communism. Later we had to consider the fundamental formula of the World Council of Churches. It might seem that here a dogmatically different point of view stirred the minds, but this is only true to a certain extent. The essence of the brotherhood and its place among the other churches was the crucial point. The chief question was not whether the fundamental formula could be accepted for its theological contents, but whether we can accept any formula as correct. The fact that we were only able to heal the schisms in

our brotherhood two centuries ago, when we no longer made any formula obligatory, has made us stick to what was already proclaimed in 1939, at the moment we participated in the provisional World Council; that we shall never acknowledge any confession of faith as binding. The design for the new ecclesiastical discipline of the Reformed Church had our full attention.

This leads us to our place in the world. Dutch Mennonites are conscious of being part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Consequently, emigration, the Indonesian problem, the attitude of Soviet Russia, the foundation of the State of Israel, and our attitude as Christians to these questions, gave rise to oral and written discussions. It may be said that the brotherhood feels it has a message to the world. The only question is how to give it. In our opinion the first thing to do is social work, just as before the war. Just as we enabled the Hutterian Brethren, driven from Liechtenstein, to cross to England on June 15, 1937, to settle there, after the war we immediately gave shelter to the Russian Mennonites in co-operation with the Mennonite Central Committee, and made the passage to Paraguay possible for the majority of them on January 28, 1947.

It goes without saying that the missionary work, at home and abroad, had our full attention. A committee for spreading the Gospel, started just before the war, had to break off its activities in the time of the occupation, but it made its influence felt in the work of the Activation Committee. The Missionary Society met with great difficulties. The war in Java has deprived us of two missionaries, and the doctor and the administrator of the leper hospital were prevented from carrying on their work. The mission field, where practically everything was ruined, is still inaccessible, but the Missionary Society, which celebrated its centenary in 1947, is ready to resume its work as soon as possible.

Our care of our aged people in the last twelve years may appear from the opening of the two rest homes, Mooiland and Avondzon (Beautiful Land and Evening Sun) in 1936 and 1938, respectively. The former was badly damaged in the battle of Arnhem, but could be reopened on January 5, 1947. Many non-Aryan refugee children from Germany found a home at Johannishof near Dieren in 1939; this work was stopped, of course, when Holland became an occupied country. As long as the trains were running we organized during the war the sending out of undernourished children from the western parts to the eastern section, that they might obtain new health. The ties of friendship formed in this way were renewed after the war. In 1947 we opened the children's home, Oud Wulven. The Union of Social Service Women, founded in 1936, which rendered assistance to families where the housewife is absent for some time, is about to resume its activities after a short break. Holidays and recreation resorts for tired housewives and victims of crisis and wartime were organized by the Elspeet Society. A new initiative was the retreat, held this summer; it was a beginning full of promise.

Preserving our own character, we are quite willing to co-operate with other churches. In 1937 we took part in the conferences at Oxford and Edinburgh for Life and Work and Faith and Order; in 1938, in the World Congress of Christian Youth at Amsterdam, and the World Missionary Conference in Madras; and also, in 1947, in the Youth Conference at Oslo.

We hope to do the same in August, 1948, in the Assembly of the World Council of Churches. In the war there was a comparatively strong bond with the other Dutch churches. The only possibility to uphold the values of Christianity—charity, justice, respect for the personality—proved to be the collective appeal of the churches. In the Inter-Ecclesiastical Society for Mutual Aid we made our voice heard, and as a union of Christians, high above the discord, we protested together against the deeds of the occupying force, at the risk of the lives of our representatives in the Society, and of our officiating ministers. We also co-operated to improve the food situation in the western provinces. Undoubtedly, it is owing to this co-operation that there were fewer victims of starvation than would otherwise have been the case.

It is with great gratitude that we mention the relief work of the MCC. The attempt to meet the overwhelming shortage of food, clothing, and shoes, to help us to rebuild our churches and what more you have done in the name of Christ, gave us the feeling that distant relations had come very near, and the bond among brethren is closer than could have been expected from the few contacts between single persons. It is a joy to us to be able to say this at this World Congress, where I have tried to give you an impression of our situation.

In conclusion, I think I am entitled to say that in these twelve years we have tried to keep the charge that has been entrusted to us. It has not been easy, but there is a now renewed consciousness that we possess our own unique character, and therefore have the right to sound a personal note in the preaching of the one Gospel. This Mennonite voice is recognized and esteemed by the other Dutch churches, as we were glad to see. We hope to make it heard for the benefit of our war-damaged country and for our war-stricken people. May the Lord use us to that end.

The Mennonites of Switzerland and France, 1936-1948, and the Present Outlook

Samuel Gerber

I should like to use as a guiding thought for this short sketch the words of Jeremiah as found in Lamentations 3:22, "It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not." This word of Jeremiah is always and everywhere true for our individual lives, as well as for the life of our congregations and the life of our people. But above all, it seems to me, it is of special significance in the light of the life of our congregations during the past twelve years.

The Swiss Congregations

At the time of the last World Conference at Amsterdam, 1936, Bro. Samuel Nussbaumer, of Sternenhof (a farm) near Basel, was the president of the Swiss conference. This position he had held for many years. My father, Samuel Gerber, of Paturatte, recently deceased, was the vice-president, having held this position even longer than Bro. Nussbaumer had held the presidency. In these years of the "thirties" one often heard in our congregations the pessimistic remark, "Ah, when Brothers Samuel Nussbaumer and Samuel Gerber are no longer with us, then we can turn our Mennonite churches into barns." In 1942 Bro. Nussbaumer died, and a few months ago (1948) my father also passed on to his rest. What is the condition of our congregations now?

The Economic Situation

The world-wide depression of 1928 to 1935 all but ruined the agricultural life of Switzerland. Especially hard hit in this struggle for life were the farmers in the mountains; and our Mennonites were mostly of these farmers in the mountains. Our Mennonites did not only feel the physical need but often the burden on their consciences, weighed down by their debts, when they could no longer keep up their payments. For this reason many preferred to sell their farms to rich businessmen for a good price in order to pay their debts, and then remained on the farms as renters. The new owners were happy to have these safe investments and often proved themselves kindly landlords. In spite of this it is sad to report that many splendid farms, long in Mennonite ownership, have little by little come into outside control.

At the end of the war our country, with all of its people, with all of its cities and their factories, was untouched by the destruction of war. An unusually large demand for Swiss products arose. The factories could not accept all the orders. From everywhere workers were sought, and even unskilled workers were given unusually high wages. Soon a general movement of people started toward the cities and the industrial towns. The high wages also attracted our Mennonites. From the congregation of Sonnenberg alone, more than 20 families have moved from the mountainsides into the towns of the valleys, during the last several years. The consequences of this trend are not yet clear.

Our Schools, Customs, and Language

Up to now we have had our own schools. The people in the towns speak French. If our people move into the towns, then soon they will be influenced by the language and the thinking of the industrialized surroundings. Their children will soon feel at home in the towns and will feel themselves strangers in the simple, German-language worship services in the mountains. Simplicity in hairdo and dress, abstinence from gambling and smoking will be lost. Shall we attempt to improve or change these outward customs? Many of our old customs have proved themselves to be definite blessings. Our own German language was at one time a protecting bulwark against outside interests and influences; but at the same time it was a fence that prevented us from witnessing among our French-speaking neighbors. The congregations of Chaux-de-Fonds, Les Bulles, and Courgenay, Pruntrut, are gradually changing their worship services into the French language, since they have no German schools of their own. The congregations of Schaenzli, Basel, and of the Emmenthal are spared this problem since they are located in German-speaking areas. Should we take the shortest and most radical method to get to a modern Mennonitism, abandoning our German language and old customs? Or is it our duty to keep, also, the customs and the forms of the faith of our fathers? In any case, we are convinced that our schools have been of great value to our congregations. We can not think in terms of not having them, and for more than fifty years have given them a unique character. God has thus far kept our congregations and has blessed them.

Youth Work

In the years 1937 and 1938 our conference came to the realization that our congregations could hold their own, develop normally and grow only if the youth could be won for Christ and for the church. Much faithful work had been done, nevertheless, in many of our congregations for many years through the Sunday schools and choirs. But each one worked faithfully in his own small corner without taking note of other efforts elsewhere, without mutual discussion of the problems, and without mutual helping in this work. Many of our young members had no opportunity for fellowship and strengthening their faith other than their personal Bible study and the weekly worship services on Sundays. In these years the conference elected a special committee for youth work and asked it to carry on the youth activities in an organized manner and to develop the work.

It is worth while to note the peculiarity of our conference, that in this elected committee practically only gray- and white-haired men were represented. Even up to today in all of our youth conferences and meetings, the old and young come together, the same as in all of our other meetings. This is certainly a good and valuable way to promote the spirit of brotherly oneness. On the other hand, I do not doubt that there is a different form of witnessing, singing, and mutual discussion among youth which might be even better suited for the thinking and feeling of our youth. This might bring even more of the youth to accept the wonderful Gospel of Jesus Christ. This is not said as a criticism of our youth activities. It is only to point

out that a small open door of service is still not being used as I see it. The work of the youth activities committee has, without doubt, brought forth fruits for the kingdom of God. These fruits are visible, in part, in our congregations.

Each congregation has at least one Sunday collection annually which they turn over to the youth work committee. Each Sunday school then receives a donation from this fund for their Christmas program and gifts. In January the committee organizes a Bible study course for the youth and takes care of part of the expenses. Every spring the Sunday-school leaders are invited to come to a conference where they are prepared and strengthened for their work. And, finally, the youth work committee arranges for an annual Youth Day when the youth of all our congregations come together. This event enjoys such popularity that none of our churches is big enough to provide room for the crowd. For this reason a large public hall in Tramelan is rented from time to time, usually in June.

Through these means our youth have been brought more closely into the fellowship of our congregations. Young people have made their decision to accept Christ. The participation of young people in the individual congregations has taken on more life. More than ever before, the choirs have become a central thing in the youth activities of the congregations. Through these the young people take a part in the worship services and they acquire a sense of duty toward the congregation. It is noteworthy that at every such occasion so many young people are among those present.

Our Position in Regard to Nonresistance

In a wonderful way our country was spared from the war. However, we young men were obliged to carry out boundary patrol duty during these years. When hunger threatened our country, the farmers were called upon to do almost superhuman work in their fields. Strenuous general coercive measures and restrictions were not spared. Nevertheless, the utmost trials—the actual horrible war—we did not live through. By far the majority of our Mennonite youth did their service in the medical corps. Some, however, allowed themselves to be enrolled in the regular military forces. Our position in regard to bearing arms became a lively topic of discussion when a young minister from the Sonnenberg congregation enrolled in a training school for officers. In all of the discussions concerning nonresistance there is with us up to now a piercing note of discord. Two examples will show what I mean:

(1) The father of one family was strong for nonresistance. When his son was called up for service, this father gave his son a strong drug-concoction to drink in the morning, which excited the son's heart to such an extent that he was declared unfit for service and allowed to go free. While they had freed themselves from years of sacrificial service in this ignoble manner they denounced, pharisaically, the brethren who bore arms.

(2) The winter of 1942-1943 was especially severe in our region. So much snow fell that one could hardly venture forth except on skis. One Sunday during this time there was to be a worship service. My father was sick. The above-mentioned minister already was in the service as an officer. Another minister, who was to substitute for my father, was very critical of

the minister-officer. However, on this Sunday he was otherwise busy and stayed out of the bad weather. Then we telephoned the officer. He received a Sunday leave, came by train, and on skis walked up the mountain from the depot to the church through the deep snow. He preached the Gospel to the little group who had gathered there despite the storm, in a clear, fresh, and joyous manner.

Similar examples could be related. Is it surprising that the congregation of Sonnenberg elected the young officer as their elder? Is it surprising that he is at the present time the secretary of our conference? Is it surprising if we at the present reject the nonresistance of those brethren who in their daily lives are everything but nonresistant? And are you surprised that we young people became skeptical of all nonresistance? We recognize thankfully that you brethren of America have shown us a different kind of nonresistance. There has awakened here and there in our Swiss congregations a new insight and thinking on this question.

Our Attitude Toward the Established Church

For several months our attitude toward the established church has earnestly occupied our attention. In the Canton of Bern the established church is unequivocally the State church. The congregation of Emmenthal has formally joined the established church. This congregation has gone through a completely different development and exists under entirely different circumstances than the congregations in the Jura mountains. Its connections with the established church have been for a long time strong and numerous. But in spite of this, the recent event can not be understood by the brethren of our other congregations. This act was unquestionably disapproved at our last conference. The Bible gives us clear guidance which we do not wish to abandon.

Relief Work

At the end of the war came the news of the great need among the brethren in France and in Germany. The representatives of the MCC came and made contacts with our congregations. Gradually our own little relief work was organized. Food and clothing were gathered and sent to Germany. Needy children from the destroyed cities were taken into Mennonite homes where they were clothed and taken care of. In comparison with what the MCC has done, our own gifts and efforts seem as nothing. Where you dealt in terms of hundreds of thousands, we brought together a few thousand Swiss francs. However, our congregations have sacrificed willingly according to their limited possibilities.

The Congregations in France

That which I have reported concerning the Swiss congregations during the last twelve years applies also, in part, to the congregations of France. However, since 1939 the French brethren were led in a way which has left traces that can not be altered. In the spring of 1939 they still came in their autos to our Youth Day programs and took part, especially in the musical activities. Then came five long years of anxiety. During this time, only

occasional news came from them, and often more rumors than actual news. How often it was sad news! Finally the boundaries opened and we learned the details. Some of the Mennonite families, whose farms were in the boundary zones, had been evacuated shortly after the declaration of war. When in the spring of 1940 the Battle of France raged, fierce engagements took place near Mulhouse, Colmar, Geisberg, Belfort, and many other small localities. Some Mennonites lost their farm buildings and all other personal property through these battles. Young brethren, especially those of the French conference, were called into the service. Some fell; others suffered long years as prisoners of war in Germany.

Then came the years of the German occupation. Alsace from the start was given extraordinary treatment, since it was to be incorporated into the German Reich. On the one hand, Alsace was given preference in the supply of food commodities; but on the other hand, in compensation it was watched more closely for any possible resistance. For this reason public meetings or gatherings of any kind were forbidden, and as a consequence the churches of the Mennonite congregations were locked, and the meetings forbidden. Small groups, with very careful precautions, met in homes for worship and mutual prayer.

It was a real tragedy to the brethren in Alsace when their young men were drafted to serve on the Russian front under the German army.

In 1944-1945 the region in which most of the Mennonite brethren lived once more became a battlefield. Some Mennonite families saw the total destruction of their property; others spent weeks in basements, and others lost some members of their families. But at the same time arrived some of the first prisoners of war who had been freed.

At the end of the war the French and Alsatian congregations outwardly recovered quickly. The active help from America contributed very much to this, as France herself suffers intensely from a bitter class struggle which hinders the progress of the reconstruction program.

The Spiritual Life of the Congregations

The brethren of Alsace were often beset with the disrupting influence of the Pentecostal movement, as it made inroads into the spiritual life of the congregations. As a trend in the opposite direction one notices an increasing secularization in many places. A very thorny problem comes up in the ever-increasing number of mixed marriages, especially where the marriages are with Catholic neighbors. With this problem the French brethren above all are familiar.

However, side by side with these shadows there is much that is encouraging and satisfying that one should not overlook. There are souls who have become warmer, more steadfast, more active, and more pure in their faith through the difficulties of these years. There are, above all, the youth who in many places are awakening, who are beginning to seek and to ask questions. Especially among the youth of the French congregations there is a great revival. So awakened and eager have they become that they go out, without hesitation, into the world to witness for their wonderful Redeemer. They go into the Catholic villages to witness. When we young people are awakened and set afire with zeal for Jesus, we are attracted to

and feel ourselves linked with all youth who are aglow with the same fire. We seek fellowship beyond all boundaries; and divisions are done away with, for we know: That which unites us is greater than that which divides us! Perhaps the reasons for divisions seem to us more trivial than they in reality may be. In any case the awakened French Mennonite youth have gone outside of the former limits of their own church and are working together with churches of similar faith in evangelistic efforts.

I believe, also, that the war-spared youth from our Swiss congregations should be doubly strong, joyous, and thankful, and doubly willing to engage themselves in this kind of service. We are a small group of young people who grieve over the fact that the greater part of our young people —in spite of all their devoutness—pursue material gain with all their energy and all their heart in this prosperous time. However, we pray and know that Christ will give us a revival. We realize, also, that He can give the revival only if we who pray Him for it are willing to go the way of the cross ourselves!

These few rays of light concerning the life of our congregations in France and in Switzerland may have served to prove the fact of human failures; but they may also show the faithful service of many brethren. I trust that they also may have given you an answer to the question that I raised at the beginning. The fact that our congregations are still existing and our churches fuller than ten years ago can be due to only one thing: "It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not."

God is at work in our small congregations! For this reason we look up; whether we have success or failure we look up; whether we live in the light or in the shadows we look up—up to Christ alone and away from ourselves. "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and today and in eternity!" [*Translated from the German.*]

The Catastrophe of the West Prussian Mennonites

Emil Haendiges

A terrible catastrophe has befallen our East and West Prussian Mennonite churches, but there stands One over and above the catastrophe who says, "Fear not: for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name; thou art mine. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee" (Isa. 43:1, 2).

With this catastrophe so much was destroyed that was once the joy and glory of our hearts. Our much beloved congregations in East Prussia, with a history of 400 years, have for the present, at least, come to a sudden end. How rich in God's leadings is this occurrence! Only briefly can I here touch our experiences.

In East and West Prussia there were, since the middle of the sixteenth century, considerable numbers of Mennonites scattered in the lowlands of the Nogat and Vistula rivers. They had come from the Netherlands to settle here. Their church organization probably dates back to the time of Menno Simons himself, who visited this area after he was driven from Cologne in 1547, at least once alone, and perhaps another time with Dirk Philips and Hans Sikken accompanying him as far as Danzig and Elbing. He seems to have visited the Upper Vistula basin and also some territory in East Prussia, where he found and organized the scattered believers. After the death of Menno Simons in 1561, his co-worker, Dirk Philips, reports finding five organized congregations in this area. These were most likely the congregations of Danzig, Elbing, Werder, Montau, and Thorn.

Wherever the quiet Mennonites experienced toleration, they benefited the land in moral and economic respects. In fact, they had brought considerable wealth along from Holland, their former home. With great skill they undertook to develop the lowlands, which were often from one to two meters lower than sea level, into land suitable for cultivation. They protected their farms with strong, well-built dikes to keep back the intruding waters of the river and of the sea. Large areas of fruitful marsh land were thus reclaimed. Later they proved themselves to be successful farmers as well as merchants and artisans, thus contributing materially to the welfare of the whole country.

However, after the settlements had been established, the split between the Flemish and Frisian groups of Mennonites of Holland also became evident among the churches of Prussia, since they were still more or less in contact with their fatherland. The cause for the split was chiefly the milder or stricter interpretation of the ban of excommunicated members. Even though the congregations continued to present a common front when dealing with the government and with worldly rulers, this division continued for several hundred years. It was only at the conference of the East and West Prussian Mennonites in 1859 that the following important resolution could be passed:

"From this day on the remaining differences between the Frisian and the Flemish groups of Mennonites shall cease, and they shall consider themselves as co-operating and standing together in one spirit as a united Mennonite Church."

The year 1772, during which, as a result of the first division of Poland, the area inhabited by the Mennonites definitely became a part of Prussia, was a significant one for the churches. They had hoped that more regulated and orderly conditions would now prevail, but it soon became evident that strict adherence to the principle of nonresistance would bring them into severe conflict with the new government. King Frederick the Great, in his special grant of privileges dated March 13, 1780, had promised the Mennonites "for all time" release from military service on the basis of cash payments for this privilege. However, under the influence of the Lutheran Church, which by now had become the state church, very material limitations were placed upon this privilege, and the state church demanded tax support from the Mennonite churches. In order to prevent an increase in the number of nonresistant Mennonites, which they anticipated would cause a weakening of the manpower in the country, new laws were passed which provided very painful restrictions on the Mennonites. For instance, they were forbidden the liberty to buy or sell real estate. With serious concern, they looked into the future and asked themselves the question, "Where will we find freedom and opportunity for an unhindered development and unhampered freedom of faith?" Unexpectedly an open door presented itself. As a direct reply from heaven in answer to their prayer came an invitation from Czarina Catherine II of Russia, which offered them, under very favorable conditions and promises of unlimited religious freedom, large areas of fertile land in the Ukraine, where they were invited to establish a permanent home. The great migration to Russia, which has proved so very important, thus has its beginning in the year 1788. West Prussia, therefore, may be considered the cradle of the Russian Mennonites, who, later, after their privileges of nonparticipation in war were reversed, migrated in large numbers to the prairie states of the United States and Manitoba.

The redrawing of boundaries following World War I, which divided the territory of the Mennonite settlements in the lowlands of the Vistula and the Nogat areas among three nations, was a severe blow to the church. As a result, some of the congregations remained in Germany, and others were assigned to East Prussia; but most of the congregations were now found in the area assigned to the Free State of Danzig, leaving three congregations stranded in Poland. The rural churches in the Free State of Danzig suffered most because the market for their highly developed agriculture and cattle industry was thus lost. The farmers were obliged to pay the highest salaries in all Germany; yet, through the high customs and tariffs imposed by the Poles, the prices of all they produced were very low. This disadvantage in the Free State area was largely overcome by the annexation of the Danzig Free State by Germany under Hitler, which opened to them welcome markets and higher prices for their farm products. Many a master farmer was spared the loss of farm and home through the reduction of farm mortgages which was carried through on the same pattern

as in Germany proper. This difficult economic situation should be considered if we want to understand why Mennonite farmers joined the National Socialists in the Free State of Danzig. This was done often with the best of intentions, for they expected not only an improvement of their economic situation but also a protection from Communism, which was rapidly spreading and threatened them, as well as from the aggressive Poles who continually sought more rights in the Free State of Danzig.

The attitude of the German Mennonite churches toward war and military service can perhaps best be characterized by Article 7 of the Constitution of the Danzig Mennonite Church of Nov. 29, 1886. This article says: "In keeping with the commandments of Jesus Christ and His apostles we shall endeavor, as much as lies in us, to live peaceably with all men. Also we consider every war as a grievous misfortune and hope for a relation of peace and good will among the nations. We consider it the duty of every Christian to work toward the achievement of this end. Nevertheless, we do not refuse to accept military service because we owe it to the state of which we are a part and whose protection we enjoy to place our body and our life at the disposal of the state for its welfare and preservation. Whenever the fatherland requires military service we allow the individual conscience of each member to serve in that form which satisfies him most."

When universal military service was reintroduced in 1935, the military authorities granted the Mennonites their request for the privilege to give a simple affirmation instead of the military oath. The Mennonites themselves did not request the renewal of their old privileges of noncombatant service as authorized in the *Kainettsordre* of March 3, 1867, amending the military service law of 1867. However, through compulsory youth organizations such as "Jungvolk" and "Hitler Jugend," the Mennonite young people were prepared for military service. It is, however, to be noted that in a few cases, even under National Socialism, conscientious objectors were given the privilege of assuming service in the medical corps.

National laws which were passed during this time gave full consideration to the peculiar stand which Mennonites had always taken in refusing the oath. Civil service officers were not required to take the oath. The National Socialist Party in so far as it considered individual obligations demanded no oath but only a pledge. In the mass ceremonies of various sorts Mennonites were always permitted to say "I pledge" instead of "I swear." However, many difficulties along this line presented themselves in the state labor corps service. Here the *Reichskirchenministerium* (church ministerial office) was determined to put us in the same class as other denominations. Nevertheless, when we pleaded with the highest leader of the party, the Mennonites were expressly relieved of the obligation of taking the oath.

As to the Board of Elders and the entire conference body, we can report that even in the most critical situations they remained true to our confession of faith. When propaganda was undertaken by the "Deutschen Christen" to promote their principles in our midst, they were warded off with the sharp declaration, "Hands off of our evangelical Mennonitism," issued by the Kalthof Conference. In the same way a very determined stand was taken at a public meeting at Neuteich against the advocates of

anti-Semitism and its attacks upon the Old Testament and the entire Bible. It was emphasized that the church of God is built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, of which foundation Jesus Christ is the Head of the corner. Eph. 2:20.

Our position toward the government in the midst of the crisis among our East and West Prussians was strictly Biblical on the basis of the apostolic word, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God" (Rom. 13:1). This commandment has one important limitation, which also was emphasized, that we must obey God rather than man. Acts 5:39. In this we felt ourselves completely at one with the faith of our fathers, for even Melchior Hofmann in his exposition of the Epistle to the Romans (Chapter 13) said: "It is certainly true that governments are appointed of God. In everything which is not against God we must obey them." He admonishes us that we should even obey the anti-Christian kings until God gives us the release. Indeed Melchior Hofmann says, "Where God permits His people to be under the domination of Satan they should be obedient in everything that is not against God" (Zur Linden, *Melchior Hofmann,* Haarlem, 1865, p. 299f).

At the height of the crisis in Germany, when apostasy from the true Christian faith was rapidly expanding, it extended its tentacles sufficiently to cause damage in our brotherhood, even though desertions from our congregations were limited to a few. Heb. 10:25; Rom. 12:2. With these exceptions, a deeper spiritual life was awakened in our congregations and was encouraged by the leaders. The ministerial meetings and annual conferences of the church were held regularly. Even the short-term Bible courses for the ministers, also those for the general public, and the mission festivals were continued in the churches, as were also the cycles of visits by various guest preachers among the congregations. The youth work was continued on a definitely Biblical basis, and the retreats for our church youth were continued. The "Brethren in need" were also aided. Our ministers and church officials were allowed to continue their pastoral service in the refugee camps, holding regular worship and communion services. Catechetical instruction and baptism were carried on as usual. The former Polish congregation of Deutsch-Wymischle and Deutsch-Kasum were officially received into the conference of the East and West Prussian churches, as well as into the "Vereinigung." The Galician Mennonites now living in the Warthegau were also accepted as members of the "Vereinigung." There was deep concern for our future as the inroads of the anti-Christian tendencies of the National Socialist government became increasingly evident. Nevertheless, we hoped for an early change for the better. We looked for the time in which "the trees that grow up into heaven would have their proud crowns broken," and when no other cross would find recognition among us but the cross of our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Under the sign of this cross we hoped to be able to continue by the help of God with His gracious support to build our East and West Prussian Mennonite congregations, working for His honor and our own blessing. The change came, however, in a very unexpected way. The great catastrophe broke in upon us. Although not entirely unforeseen, it proved to be

sudden and desperately destructive. This experience has brought to a conclusion, at least as far as the human mind can see, the 400-year-old history and existence of our East and West Prussian congregations. The catastrophe presents itself as a mighty judgment from God. To whom does it apply? Is it for our people and our government? Behind the masses one can easily hide himself. One can also make it easier by universalizing our answer and replying, "We all are sinners and come short of the glory of God." But judgment begins with the house of God. Does it begin with you? No, it begins with me. The pain and grief of guilt pierces deeply into our soul, but we should not hesitate to acknowledge the cause of it all and to lament with the prophet: "The joy of our heart is ceased; our dance is turned into mourning. The crown is fallen from our head: woe unto us, that we have sinned" (Lam. 5:15, 16)! The warning should be heeded by all. "Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God" (I Pet. 5:6). And our united determination and decision according to Hosea 6:1 should be, "Come, and let us return unto the Lord: for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up."

The catastrophe which had begun in the East when the Germans were defeated at Stalingrad gained momentum through the invasion of the air forces from the West, assuming serious proportions with the concentrated forward march of the Allied troops through France, and breaking out in its full fury in East and West Prussia in January, 1945. For months preceding, many refugees had been passing through Elbing from the East to the West. Many inhabitants, especially women and children, had left the city of Elbing on the order of authorities. Our remaining population was admonished by radio to be quiet. My determination was to stay as long as my congregation stayed. However, practically all our members with their families stood prepared for flight at any moment. . . . Now the official order had come to leave and we also began the sad trek. For the last time we crossed the bridge past our beloved Mennonite church on out the Tiegenhof road through the Ellerwald district across the Nogat toward Tiegenhof. During the night we reached Danzig. Later we journeyed by boat from Gotenhafen to Sassnitz, and from there by refugee transport to Holstein. Everything had to be left behind, but what caused us the most intense pain was to leave our dear Elbing-Ellerwald church where we had served for the last twenty-two years (1922-1945). All our East and West Prussian churches were destroyed in this catastrophe.

I have reported our personal flight, but the experience of thousands was very similar and in most cases much worse. Comparatively, we fared quite well. How much harder it was for our Mennonite farmers to separate themselves from their old homesteads! What bitter feelings arose when for the last time they tended their purebred stock and then turned them out into the cold winter, leaving them at least free and untethered until they perished! How terrible it was for the old folks, the sick, and the mothers with children on this flight! An untold number of children perished and were buried in the snow. Many horses collapsed in the wild flight and were mercifully shot. Some of the fleeing groups were overtaken and plundered by the enemy. Many refugee ships were torpedoed, drowning

thousands of people. Woe unto all that could not escape, and woe above all to the poor women and girls who were left behind! Reports of their experiences which we have received are shocking beyond words.

But what is the status of our West Prussian Mennonites now? They still are homeless refugees, now living in very precarious conditions in the occupied areas of Germany. The congestion is greatest in the British Zone, where the refugees constitute about half of the population. The housing is necessarily in most cases very primitive, often in old barracks. The formerly wealthy leading men of the East are now absolutely without means of support, rendering the most lowly service as farm laborers. All refugees are supposed to work as much as they are able. Clothing is worn out; everything is needed. Although a number of years have passed many are still wearing the same clothes which they brought with them from their homes. Even more painful than the physical privation is the constant feeling that they are unwanted in the areas where they now live because the people themselves do not have the wherewithal to make their own living. Do you ask, "What is a refugee?" The answer would be, "A refugee is a second-class person who is in everybody's way." Under present conditions the Germans have in truth become "a people with insufficient room." Seldom do you hear the refugees complain about their own needs and sufferings because no one shows sympathetic interest. Adding to their grief is the fact that most families are broken; the sons have fallen in the war and the fathers have been dragged into captivity; often also women and daughters have perished in the wild flight.

A number of the East Prussian Mennonites are still kept behind barbed wire in Denmark which, to say the least, is very trying, and yet we may report that most of our Mennonites have retained their integrity of character and inner stability. They bravely bear their hard lot. Seldom do they complain about their fate. They carry the marks of the collapse of their lives in their faces but their forms are still erect and unbroken. They are grateful for every brotherly aid, but would be still more thankful for an early opportunity to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow and the labor of their hands. Inactivity, frequent disappointment, and indefinite waiting are the hardest to endure. These farmers have a strong desire and longing for a place where they can once more have their own farm and guide the plow through the furrows so that they may raise the necessary food for themselves and their families. Their faith and trust in God have not been destroyed through the catastrophe, but have rather been strengthened. The faith that in some cases had begun to waver has received new life through suffering and need. Day and night one desire, the desire of their heart for themselves and for their family, is to find a home where they may labor and be free to live out their faith. For this, the best prospect seems to be to migrate to a new country where they can settle in a compact Mennonite colony or at least where they can remain in touch with others of the household of faith.

[Translated from the German and condensed]

Factors Contributing to Success and Failure in Mennonite Colonization

J. Winfield Fretz

Colonization is the process by which a group of like-minded people separates from a parent body and transplants itself to a new locality with a separate organization. There is a difference between settlement and colonization. Settlement may be the mere transferring of location by individuals, families, or small groups, independent of each other. In colonization there is a cultural tie which continues to exist between the new colony and the parent group. There is a "family" character in colonization which is not found in mere settlement. This is illustrated in the frequent use of such terms as "mother" and "daughter" colony. The settler adapts his life and customs to the environment around him, whereas the colonist resists adaptation to surrounding culture. He seeks to adapt himself to the ways of his own cultural group.

The first inclination of daughter colonies is to reproduce, as far as possible, in the new community, the institutions, organizations, and social patterns of the parent colony. Just as a spider spins his web out of his body, so new colonies tend to spin out of their own experiences and traditions a social organization similar to that of the parent body. In Mennonite history this is well demonstrated in the village pattern of settlement which has been transplanted from Russia to Canada, to Mexico, and to Paraguay. The Old Colony and Sommerfelder Mennonites established themselves in small European-type agricultural villages which were the exact replicas of those they had left in Russia; in fact, one can find today among Mennonites in Mexico the names and blueprints of village patterns which were brought by them from Canada and by their parents from Russia.

We may then define a colony as a group of like-minded people with common interests and common ideals, living in a well-defined geographical area. The central idea around which a colony is organized may vary greatly. Colonies may be political, racial, economic, or religious and may be established in cities as well as in rural communities. There are numerous illustrations of this in American cities where one finds large colonies of Italian, Irish, Swedish, Negro, Jewish, Dutch, and German folk. American Mennonite colonization efforts have been predominantly in rural areas. There is only one example known to the writer of a Mennonite colony located in an urban community. This is in a suburb of Winnipeg, Manitoba, where there is a solid settlement of Mennonites on three city streets about one-half mile in length. These people use the German language and have their own social and religious activity apart from the surrounding community. The members of this urban colony were practically all immigrants from Russia after World War I.

Definition of Success and Failure

Successful and unsuccessful Mennonite colonization cannot be measured by worldly standards of material prosperity, popularity, or fame. Among Mennonite colonists these factors have been definitely secondary.

A successful Mennonite colony is one which succeeds in establishing and maintaining the distinctive religious principles and practices considered essential to the concept "Mennonite." It means preserving a set of spiritual values and maintaining a minimum number of religio-social principles and culture patterns.

At the heart of all successful Mennonite colonization must be the living Christ as a motivating force. His spirit and His teaching are mediated through the organized fellowship of believers known by various terms, such as the church, the "ecclesia," the "Gemeinde" or the "Gemeinschaft." In traditional Mennonite group life there has been no distinction made between church and community. The two are identical. Successful Mennonite colonies have traditionally endeavored first to organize a church and then to teach and perpetuate such beliefs and practices as nonresistance, simplicity of living, nonconformity to the world, mutual aid, the New Testament as the ethical authority and guide of life, the settlement of disputes among the brethren outside of public courts, adult baptism, and in general a quiet, sober, industrious individual and group life, based on the imitation of Christ, or the "Nachfolge." A colony that fails to accomplish these ends fails as a Mennonite colony, even though it succeeds materially. It may be acclaimed by a secular society as a prosperous community of loyal citizens and yet fail as a Mennonite colony. Colonies of religious, ethnic, or economic groups that have accommodated themselves so completely to the society around them as to be totally assimilated into the surrounding culture are no longer colonies. They are henceforth undifferentiated components of the larger total fabric of society.

One cannot correctly speak of a single factor as the cause of success or failure in colonization efforts. There are a combination of factors. Among the most significant factors, explaining successful Mennonite colonization, the following four seem to stand out above all others.

Factors Contributing to Success

The first of these is religion. Religion is at the very heart of all true Mennonite colonization efforts. The religious factor transcends and penetrates every other single factor. It was the sustaining power of religion that enabled Mennonites through the centuries to endure all manner of persecution and indescribable hardships. It is the deep religious conviction of our fathers that caused them to be willing to make the great sacrifices which generally accompanied early stages of colonization. Only the most spiritually minded and religiously undergirded have suffered voluntarily for the sake of their religion. Not only does religious faith make people willing to suffer, but it binds them together into a single body and develops a feeling of kinship. This must be said, in spite of the many differing Mennonite opinions and shades of theological and social views. The awareness of the power of religion was well expressed by Brother Peter Klassen of Brazil in writing about the life of the Russian refugee brethren who colonized in Brazil after World War I:

"I want to emphasize that which underlies all the life of our group, which carries, strengthens, and sustains us, and has done so throughout the centuries even in these days when we are being scattered over the three conti-

nents, namely, the power which flows from fellowship with the God of our fathers. The first community building on the plateau was the schoolhouse. But a schoolhouse among us is always also a church building, for we know that our existence is guaranteed and justified only when we cultivate those values which have come down to us through the long centuries of our history. It is the church which gives us strength, the church which is founded on Christ, God's representative."

Another way in which religion contributes to successful colonizations is by means of its ability to minimize or dissolve human conflict situations. The love of God in the hearts of men acts as a solvent of personal and group conflicts which are bound to arise in all human societies. By means of commitment of one's life to God and the welfare of the brotherhood, sharp differences of opinion, jealousies, and excessive personal ambitions may be reduced to the point where they can be held in restraint or brought completely under control.

The second factor of successful Mennonite colonization is the practice of Mennonite mutual aid. This is one of the fruits of a dynamic religion. It is the result of trying to live according to the New Testament pattern of Christianity. Mutual aid is more than mere charity. It is a way by which individuals help each other to become increasingly self-reliant. One may almost make the generalization that colonies have prospered in proportion to the amount of mutual aid practiced. This means that brotherly love and religious motivation are not mere theoretical expressions but are practical demonstrations in everyday living.

In the very earliest records of Mennonite history we discover that Mennonites in one part of Europe who enjoyed a measure of freedom and economic prosperity aided their brethren in distress. The Dutch Mennonites in the seventeenth century helped their Swiss brethren to migrate from Switzerland to South Germany and Holland. In the twentieth century the Dutch Mennonites continued their practice of mutual aid in that they provided economic assistance to the Mennonite refugees from Russia who sought to establish themselves in Brazil. Assistance was given toward the construction of schoolhouses, sawmills, and cheese factories, and provision was made for each family to own a cow.

Another illustration of mutual aid in colonization is that of the Bergthal group in Russia which migrated en masse to Canada. This group was not only a church organization but a local government with a school district and a relief unit with homes for the poor, the orphans, and the aged. The entire group decided to migrate, and the rich were taxed so as to create a fund to pay for the cost of transporting the poor. The elder of the group stated that in all history he did not believe there was another instance where there was such complete unanimity and harmony in everything taken up as in this colony. The sense of mutual responsibility for the needs of the one was accepted by all.

In the case of the Mennonites who went to Paraguay from Russia, it is doubtful whether the colonies could have succeeded except for the co-operative economic efforts of the entire group. Here the entire colony's economic program has been organized co-operatively. The welfare of the individual has been strengthened by the united efforts of the group.

Among the Mennonite refugees who settled in Canada after World War I there is also much evidence that the greater the amount of mutual aid, the stronger the life of the colony. This is true in every one of the provinces where Mennonites are settled, from Ontario to British Columbia. Co-operative creameries, hatcheries, credit unions, health societies, berry processing plants, and the like are common forms of mutual enterprises in the newly established communities.

Through mutual efforts careful planning may be carried out; adequate financial credit can more easily be secured, systematic procedure in developing community life can be realized, and the needs of all can be more satisfactorily provided for. This fact has been repeatedly demonstrated throughout the history of all Mennonite colonization efforts.

The third factor which may help to explain successful Mennonite colonization is the belief and practice of nonconformity. The basis of this doctrine is found in the injunction of Paul in Rom. 12:2 not to be conformed to this world. Also in the epistles of John and Peter there is reference made to the fact that the children of God will be hated by the children of this world. The practice of nonconformity has been both a cause and an effect of persecution—a cause in that the group has set itself apart as on a superior moral level to the world around it, and thus attracted critical attention to itself; and a result in that the persecuted have drawn to themselves and avoided the outside world, thus creating a greater cleavage between the group and society. Thus nonconformity has tended to solidify the Mennonite group and to develop a persistence on the part of its members, whereas prosperity, popularity, and social acceptance apart from nonconformity might have caused disintegration and failure.

The practice of nonconformity has enabled the resulting smaller group to be controlled more rigidly by its leaders. This feeling of "otherworldliness" has persisted in Mennonite groups long after the fears of persecution have disappeared. Outside of Russia, Mennonites today are not persecuted in any part of the world for their religious beliefs, yet in most parts of the world they maintain an attitude of nonconformity to the society around them. The present migration of the Sommerfelder Mennonites from Canada to Paraguay and of the Kleine Gemeinde to Mexico, is due in no small measure to the fact that the feelings of nonconformity will again be developed. This will be quite natural, in view of sharp differences due to language, religion, and culture. Where nonconformity to the world has completely disappeared, distinctive Mennonite characteristics have also disappeared.

The final factor contributing toward successful Mennonite colonization which we shall mention is that of favorable governmental laws and concessions. Government attitude is, after all, largely a reflection of public opinion, and public opinion is a significant factor in determining whether colonization may take place and later on develop unimpeded. If the attitude of the majority of citizens in a particular area is hostile to the Mennonites, the establishment of strong colonies will be prevented. On the other hand, where the official attitude of the government is friendly and where the invitation to establish Mennonite colonies is characterized by generous economic and political concessions, the chances for Mennonite

colonization are favorable. Illustrations of this point are the unfavorable attitude of the Prussian government toward the Mennonites in the Danzig area in the eighteenth century on the one hand, and the highly favorable attitude of the Russian government on the other. The discrimination of the Prussian government against the Mennonites made colonization difficult, if not impossible, whereas discrimination in favor of the Mennonites in Russia not only made colonization possible but greatly helped it. The contrasting attitudes of the Canadian government toward conservative Mennonite groups after World War I and that of the Paraguayan government toward these same conservative Mennonites further illustrates this point. Mennonites have traditionally cherished their given religious principles more than sheer economic advantage and for this reason are willing even today to exchange their prosperous economic conditions in Canada for the more rigorous economic life awaiting them in Mexico and Paraguay.

Factors Contributing to Failure

Just as there is no single factor explaining the success of a colonization effort, so too there is no single factor accounting for its failure. One might most briefly summarize the causes of failure by merely stating the reverse of the factors contributing to success. However, there are several additional factors which might well be mentioned.

First is the loss of group consciousness or, as sociologists call it, the loss of a "we-feeling." This loss of a we-feeling is a form of secularization, which manifests itself in a declining concern for the group's values and way of life and a substituting of the surrounding society's values and way of life. When the group forgets its own uniqueness, or consciously seeks to imitate society at large, rather than adhere to its own principles and customs, it is actually in the process of becoming assimilated into the larger society. To the degree that this happens, a Mennonite colony as a distinct Mennonite venture must be said to fail.

A second factor explaining failure is that of sharp internal conflicts. These conflicts may be due to cultural differences, theological controversies, personal jealousies, weak leadership, or any of several other reasons. The presence of internal conflict is evidence of lack of harmony, and obviously reduces the possibility of practicing social and religious co-operation. Hence, just as a bundle of sticks can easily be broken if separated and individually bent, so too can a colony be easily destroyed where it is individualized and fragmentized. This type of colonization failure has been most common within individual countries where small groups have left older established communities and attempted colonies in new areas.

A third factor contributing toward colonization failure is the lack of leadership. This human factor is often a deciding one in determining failure. Where situations are such that colonization is naturally difficult because of economic and social conditions, the factor of good leadership is all the more important in preventing failure. The functions of a leader are to act as spokesman, planner, and harmonizer for his people. It is his duty to help them adjust to new environments. If he lacks vision and foresight, if he is unable to inspire others, if his judgment and advice are disregarded or not respected, and if he is unable to settle internal group difficulties, he is not

only a poor leader, but his continued effort as a leader may be a direct contributory factor to the failure of the colony which he is seeking to establish.

In a considerable number of unsuccessful Mennonite colonization efforts, self-appointed and ambitious men were in positions of leadership. In America it has frequently happened that such men succeeded in leading small bands of followers out of their home communities into new frontiers only to be unable to overcome economic handicaps, bridge internal differences, and make necessary adjustments to the new situation. In several cases the would-be leaders were the first to give up the colonization efforts and return to the home base or move to another new area. In colonization, it is impossible for the blind successfully to lead the blind.

The fourth factor accounting for colonization failure among Mennonites is that broad and inclusive one, the economic factor. Under this factor we have such a variety of items as poor land, unfavorable climate, poor markets, and the lack of adequate financial credit. It is obvious that colonization is difficult on soil that is unfertile, or where the rainfall is inadequate or unevenly distributed throughout the year, or where the vagaries of the weather are so unpredictable as to be unable to count on a steady production of agricultural products. It has frequently happened that colonization efforts have been made in areas where the land was sufficiently productive and the climate favorable but where the markets were so distant that all the profits were absorbed in transporting the commodities to market. Where there are no highways, or where they are too distant from markets, successful colonization is difficult unless life is lived on the most primitive and self-denying level. Mennonite colonists in Paraguay are discovering the difficulties of transportation and the distance from markets as their greatest handicap.

Perhaps the factor of inadequate financial credit has caused colonies to fail or to struggle along over many years on a pitiful plane more than any other economic factor. Here a sound program of mutual aid centrally supervised could have avoided many past failures. The Mennonites in Russia demonstrated the effectiveness of preventing colonization failures by developing a systematic credit program operated as a rotating fund. The same is true of the Mennonites in Mexico who develop new colonies as projects of the entire established brotherhood rather than allowing small landless groups to go out and seek to establish themselves with their own meager resources.

The best summary statement of why Mennonite colonies succeed or fail is the simple statement that colonization success comes from an intelligent and consecrated practice of Christianity. Where groups of people are literally giving their lives to Christ and seek to do the will of God, they help each other spontaneously and for that reason are bound to succeed in common efforts. On the other hand, where groups of people are more concerned with selfish individual achievements, all manner of difficulties arise, and consequently, failures ensue. Thus colonization efforts are largely successful or unsuccessful to the degree to which the colonists in question as individuals and as a group are committed to an unqualified following of Christ.

Mennonite Refugees—Our Challenge

C. F. Klassen

"The two most beautiful things," says Jung-Stilling, "are the home from which we come and the home to which we go." These words often come to me when dealing with the refugees in Europe who have been homeless and without a country of their own for many years, and whose only wish is at last to find a country that will take them in and permit them to build for themselves and their children modest homes. Actually, this is quite a modest wish which ought not to be denied any man, and yet the realization of it is for many a distant dream "whose margin fades forever and forever as they move." Under these almost insurmountable difficulties it is no simple matter for the refugees to follow the bidding of the psalmist in Psalm 46:10, "Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth."

Some who were present at the Second Mennonite World Conference will well remember those days in Danzig in the late summer of 1930. That conference was a Mennonite World Relief Conference and had as its motto, "Help to Brethren in Need." As are all wars, World War I also was succeeded by a time of distress and great need. Our Mennonite brotherhood took an active part in the easing of that need. It was the time when our brethren in North America closed their ranks toward a united relief effort —a most significant chapter in the history of our brotherhood. No one attending that conference had any idea that the Fourth Mennonite World Conference would need to be postponed for years because of a second and far more terrible World War. If at that time in Danzig we talked about the needs among the refugees and sought ways and means of alleviating this need, it is obvious that fifteen years later we face a refugee need of far wider scope which today, after three years of concentrated effort, is by no means solved.

The consequence of the terrible war and the moving by brute force of national boundaries in eastern Europe, of compulsory mobilization of hundreds of thousands of laborers, of the collapse of the German Reich, and, not least, of the unlimited expansion of geographical boundaries as well as the influence of the Red dictatorship was not only that a hodgepodge of peoples and races resulted such as history had not witnessed before, but also that millions of people in Europe were made homeless and left stranded on foreign soil. The already existing distressful condition was dragged to still lower levels by the Bolsheviks' forced deportation (Verschleppung) of the heads and oldest sons of Mennonite families. Thus, for example, in the one village of Neuendorf, Old Colony, in one night in February, 1938, more than forty men were taken by the G.P.U. In the Bergen family all four sons were taken. Never again did the families of these deported ones hear of them. Liquidation seemed the order of the day.

In 1945, soon after the capitulation of Germany, I was commissioned by the MCC to go to Europe in order to view at firsthand the refugee situation.

Letters from Russia rarely found their way to the West, but the few which did come through gave us a picture of the conditions and of the

terror reigning there. All our efforts to obtain aid in Washington, Ottawa, and London were fruitless.

The many ruined cities of Germany, the countless numbers of refugees who on foot, on wagons, or on overcrowded trains streamed from the East to the West, the general picture of utter dejection and hopelessness—all this made a deep and heavy impression on me. In spite of many difficulties I finally succeeded in contacting approximately three thousand of our Mennonite refugees.

A. Mennonite Refugees From Russia and Poland

The first personal contact with them had thus been made. That gave new courage to the refugees. They heard of their relatives in Canada, and the hope of seeing them once again filled their whole being. The time of waiting became a little easier to bear.

The movement to Canada, however, was unusually long in getting started, and when at last it had begun it moved along at a snail's pace.

We are grateful to God that in an hour of great need the doors to Paraguay opened up, so that on February 1, 1947, a group of 2,305 refugees, escorted by Peter and Elfrieda Dyck, was able to sail on the S.S. *Volendam* from Bremerhaven to Paraguay. That the group of over 1,000 included in this party was able to leave Berlin in the heart of the Russian Zone is a miracle in our day and age, and will be recorded as such in the annals of Mennonite history.

We did appreciate so very much that our Dutch brethren in 1946 approached their government in The Hague to get permission for our Russian Mennonite refugees to cross the border from Germany into Holland. They worked on this with the typical Dutch Mennonite perseverance and they succeeded; our refugees were allowed to come. But evil forces were soon there, too, and only 440 refugees were lucky enough to get in and stay there until we were able to take them to Paraguay or Canada.

In 1947 nearly 500 Mennonite refugees were able to go to their relatives in Canada. In the current year, 1948, the movement to Canada has gathered considerable momentum and already 2,000 refugees have left for that country. By the end of the year probably another 1,000 will have been moved.

We are most grateful to Canada—to which country this is the fourth movement of Mennonites—for the open door and the tolerance shown. I would like also to underline the fact that the Canadian Immigration Mission in Europe is performing a great task under trying conditions. The head of the Mission, Mr. Cormier, with his associates, has always shown much understanding for our cause and our needs in particular. This is also the case with the European Immigration Commissioner, Mr. Cotsworth, in London.

If it is not difficulties in the processing of the refugees, it is lack of shipping space with which we have to contend. There is always one difficulty or another and we have resigned ourselves to the fact that it will be a struggle, not to say battle, until the end when the last of our refugees has reached safety. But what a comfort to know that we have a praying church behind us!

Refugees going to Canada proceed mostly to their relatives, who usually also pay for their passage. That, however, will not be possible in every case. For those going to Paraguay—who are the refugees who have no close relatives or other sponsors in Canada, or who are unable to proceed to Canada for health or other reasons—the MCC pays the cost of transportation and also finances their beginning on the new land to a certain extent. The refugees pledge themselves in due course of time to refund these advanced monies.

We do hope that under the new law permitting the entrance of 205,000 displaced persons from Europe to the United States a goodly number of our Mennonite refugees will also find a new home here.

MCC and, in part, the Mennonite conferences have seen to it that the refugees in Germany, Austria, Holland, and Denmark have been visited by traveling ministers. The trying years in Russia, when religious instruction was taboo and when churches were expropriated, often to be converted into theaters or warehouses, when most of the heads of families were being sent as forced laborers to Siberia and the mothers had little time to devote to their children because of the exacting work they had to perform in the collectives, all these years did not pass over our people without leaving noticeable traces. We observe this often, and yet we are happily surprised that it is not worse. We are glad that the refugees in the camps at once asked for regular church services, that every effort was made to give their children systematic schooling, that choirs were organized, etc. We are confident that most of the refugees will join the already existing congregations in North or South America as soon as they get there, and will take an active part in building God's kingdom.

Their greatest wish is to have once again a modest home of their own, to be able to till their fields and attend their gardens in peace, to have fellowship with their brethren in the faith and to extend to their children the possibility of Christian upbringing. For this they pray, these hunted and persecuted refugees, and when our Father in heaven answers, He does not use angels as instruments for the answering of their prayers, but our churches and congregations of North America. Our great God could save them without our assistance, but how grateful we should be that He has chosen to dignify our lives by letting us be His co-workers in this Samaritan cause. Are we willing to continue in this in the future? Are we prepared not only to give but also to sacrifice?

B. Mennonite Refugees from the Former Free State Danzig and Vicinity

Officially, no German nationals are permitted to emigrate. This matter, we are told by the appropriate authorities, can not be decided upon until a peace treaty is signed with defeated Germany. Negotiations to that end, however, are constantly being thwarted by the Red totalitarian state. In the meantime, the condition of the German refugees continues to worsen. The MCC has endeavored for some time already to bring a portion of the Danzig Mennonites from Denmark to Paraguay. In view of the fact that members of these Danzig refugee families are presently located in the British Zone of Germany, and the Danzig families committed to go to

Paraguay can only take this step if the family is reunited, we approached the British military government with the request to grant to these members exit permits from Germany. The necessary and usual questionnaires and applications were completed and after some time we did receive exit permits for most of them. Only a few cases, about nine per cent, were refused.

This is a special case and does not indicate a change in the attitude of the military governments. Military government knows and appreciates the work of the MCC and has made this special concession, for which we are, of course, very grateful. This special ruling does not solve the problem, but does, perhaps, point to the way in which it might possibly be solved.

The Mennonites of the former East German congregations are mainly located in the British, American, and Russian Zones of Germany where they now live scattered as refugees. It is exceedingly difficult to minister to the spiritual needs of these people when they are thus scattered. Some of the older members of congregations become careless because spiritual ministry and church discipline cannot be practiced. Many young people do not find their way into the church at all because in their isolated and scattered locations they, too, are necessarily neglected. The ministers, themselves refugees, are willing enough to shepherd their congregations but can do very little because of lack of transportation and other difficulties. The recent currency reform, although in itself a necessary measure, has hit some classes of the German people, and especially the refugees, very hard. These poor people have lost the roof over their heads as well as all movable and immovable property, and now even their last cash savings for a rainy day are gone.

The great wish of many of these German refugees is to be able to begin once again from the bottom. Does this present a concern and a challenge to our large international Mennonite family? And do especially the Mennonites of North America see in this an opportunity to do something In the Name of Christ?

I am aware of the fact that there are those in our brotherhood who have all kinds of objections against helping Germans. They remind us of the fact that our German brothers have not been immune to Prussian militarism; that since 1933 they have necessarily come under the direct influence of the national socialism of the Third Reich; and that even nowadays, when all that is shattered and past, some try to justify this and that and are reluctant to share the common guilt. That is correct in several respects. But, my brethren, let us not judge too harshly. Only such as know German history well, such as have seen conditions in Germany at close range and from all angles, only such may presume to pass a verdict. Other good Mennonites point to the fact that our Mennonite brethren in Germany have not only neglected but consciously discarded a very significant teaching of our fathers, namely, the teaching of nonresistance. Again, that is true. But I consider it to be my duty at this time to report—and Brother H. S. Bender will confirm this—that during numerous formal and informal meetings and conferences which we Americans and Canadians were able to attend in Germany, we have found that the German Mennonites are trying to find their way back to the faith of our fathers. Are we prepared to help them? Does this present a challenge to the Mennonites of North America? We repre-

sentatives in Germany have told our German brethren that now, because of the utter collapse of the former set of values and because they themselves are being thrust upon the other in a physical sense as never heretofore, they are given in and through this an unprecedented opportunity to "plow new soil," to build a new church on the old Biblical and Mennonite foundation, Jesus Christ. But they cannot do it alone. Are we prepared to extend to them the strong arm of brotherhood—the arm of brotherhood In the Name of Christ? Are we prepared not to judge harshly, but in a brotherly way to remind them of the heritage of our fathers which needs to be rediscovered in Germany? Are we prepared for this?

A new settlement for, let us say, 5,000 German Mennonite refugees will cost a lot of money. I do not ask whether we can do it. That question the Lord has already answered for us in that He blessed us richly with material goods—not that He enabled us to get rich in the world's usage of that word, but He gave us more than we required for our daily needs. Are we prepared to share? Are we prepared to do more than that—are we prepared to make sacrifices?

If, in truth, we are ready and prepared for this, then let us charge our Mennonite Central Committee with the task of helping those of the German Mennonite refugees who have this desire to find a new home and land. And wherever this may be, we want to help them build the church anew. Let us help them, however, not as such who know better than everybody else, but as brothers who gladly and humbly share In the Name of Christ some of the spiritual treasures of our storehouse. In doing this, our home churches in North America will profit, the bond of brotherhood tying Mennonites of the Old and the New World together will be strengthened, and international Mennonitism will see its mission responsibility stimulated.

C. The International Refugee Organization (IRO) and We

When we began our refugee work in Europe in 1945, we soon contacted the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR) with its headquarters in London. With God's help, good connections were initiated, and when we succeeded in taking the first large group of 2,305 Mennonite refugees to Paraguay on the good ship *Volendam* early in 1947, we were also able, albeit not without some effort, to persuade the IGCR to give us a financial assistance of $160,000.

When this organization was replaced by the International Refugee Organization (IRO), a number of its key men, whom we knew and who were favorably disposed toward our work, remained in office. With these men, work was resumed on the basis of genuine co-operation which, materially speaking, has in the past as well as the present been of considerable significance. Our treasury was saved a large sum of the transportation costs, and this money could then be used for resettlement purposes in Paraguay. In 1948 IRO made two more boats available, carrying 860 and 758 Mennonite refugees each from Germany to Paraguay. It has given assurance that a third group of 860 refugees will also be moved in October of this year.

Our relations to IRO Headquarters, Geneva, Switzerland, are in every way congenial. It is no merit on our part but only God's grace that we, as a small organization, find so much recognition. The heaviest contributor to IRO, as a member of that organization, is the United States, and it is, therefore, of considerable significance that the relations between our Akron MCC office and the Washington IRO office be the best possible. Naturally, we have our difficulties. It seems inevitable that we are being envied, and quite obviously there is many a battle to be fought and won on lower levels where some minor officials would rather be "the first man in the village than the second in the city." But all that is part of the bargain in a large cause such as ours. This much, however, is clear: IRO has helped us much, and whoever is destined to write the history of our refugee work will need to give a large place in it to IRO.

The director of IRO, Mr. W. Hallam Tuck, is a God-fearing man. When I spoke to him the last time in Geneva on July 19 and thanked him for rendered assistance, he said, among other things: "I was afraid you had come to complain about the mishap of the *Charlton Monarch* and now you express your appreciation. I was so concerned over this ship, carrying nearly 800 Mennonites and not being able to move, and when I spoke to Wing Commander Innes about it he told me that 'Mr. Klassen said he is not at all alarmed. The refugees have an excellent escort in Mrs. Elfrieda Dyck, and the morale among them is good. The churches at home and the refugees on the ship are praying and he expects everything to right itself eventually. A year and a half ago the Mennonites prayed a large refugee group out of Berlin,' Wing Commander Innes told me, 'and their situation had really been a hopeless one.' "

I left the office of Mr. Tuck with a feeling of gratitude in my heart, knowing that the work of the MCC was really a witness for our Lord. This grace of God has humbled me. May His grace abide with us so that through our co-operation with IRO, as well as in the total scope of our work, the name of our Lord and Master be honored.

[Slightly condensed]

Carving a Home Out of the Primeval Forest

J. W. Warkentin

For many days preparations had been made in Buenos Aires for the arrival of the majestic SS *Volendam,* the ship which was bringing to the shores of South America a precious cargo consisting of 2303 Mennonite refugees from war-torn Europe. Because it was impossible to transport so many people at once by river boats to their final destination in the Paraguayan Chaco, it was necessary to find some temporary housing and to provide maintenance for them. The massive Immigrant Hotel in Buenos Aires was not available for us. Two days before the estimated date of arrival no place had been found. In the search for a suitable place to shelter our people while they were waiting for transportation no stone was left unturned, and many fervent prayers were sent up for guidance and help. These prayers were answered and the work of our men and women was rewarded. Somehow God put it into the hearts of the military men of Argentina to put at the disposal of the Mennonite refugees a sufficient number of army tents to house them. In a matter of hours a little tent city came into being on some open lots not too far distant from the Immigration Hotel. Arrangements were made with the hotel organization to use their kitchen and dining hall.

When on February 22 1947, the S.S. *Volendam* was maneuvered into position in Puerto Nuevo, all was in readiness. It was a very unusual scene. A small group of North American Mennonites stood on the pier, their voices blending with those of the large chorus of European Mennonites on board the ship in songs of praise and thanksgiving for a safe voyage to the shores of South America.

With the exception of the 298 people who were immediately transferred to the river boat, *Cuidad de Concepcion,* to continue their voyage up to Puerto Casado in Paraguay, all the refugees were disembarked and moved into the little tent city provided for them. This was to be their temporary home for a few weeks at the most. Due to unforeseen conditions, however, these weeks were dragged into months.

On March 7, 1947, the *Cuidad de Concepcion,* having completed the trip to Puerto Casado with the first group of refugees, was loaded for the second time. With 370 on board and Mr. Homer Martin again escorting the group, it started up the river heading for the Chaco.

In the meantime, however, war clouds were gathering on the Paraguayan horizon and the distant rumbling of cannon thunder was faintly heard. By the time the *Cuidad de Concepcion* got as far as Asuncion, the capital city of Paraguay, the war situation was so hot that our refugees were halted and informed that they could not proceed any further.

No provision had been made for an emergency of this kind. To quickly find a place in Asuncion to house these people was not so simple, and to keep them on the ship at a cost of 3,000 pesos per day was impossible. All possibilities were probed and the highest governmental officials contacted. Again God caused the seemingly impossible to come to pass. The officials decided to give an ear to the pleading of our men. Classwork was

temporarily abandoned in the agricultural school near San Lorenzo, about fifteen kilometers distant from Asuncion, and the rooms were placed at the disposal of the Mennonite immigrants. After a two-day stay on the ship in the harbor of Asuncion, our 370 people were disembarked and became the first unit to occupy the later well-known "San Lorenzo Lager." Later additions brought the total number up to 1,200. Here, as in Buenos Aires, it was hoped that their stay would be but a matter of weeks, but due to the prolonged revolution it was much longer. The life and experiences in the "San Lorenzo Lager," as well as in the "Fabril Lager," would make another interesting chapter which must also be omitted for lack of time.

The weeks spent in these camps were weeks of intense feeling and anxiety. There was too much shooting in the city of Asuncion for comfort. One Sunday evening while sitting on the veranda of the "Mennoniten-Heim" we heard a stray bullet crash through the branches of the tall tree in front of the house. Without making many comments we all moved inside. At nights we would move our cots away from windows and doors for fear of stray bullets. On the evening of August 5, the U.S. Embassy sent word that it expected matters to get worse and, therefore, offered to take our women and children across the border to Iguassu Falls, Brazil, for safety by means of the embassy plane. The offer was greatly appreciated, and its acceptance quickly and seriously considered. The women, however, unanimously declared that they would not leave their husbands. Since it was impossible for all of us to leave, we all decided to stay and to trust in God for further protection.

The weeks and months of waiting while the revolution raged on made our people in the camp quite restless. All communications with the Chaco were cut off for six months. This, together with a considerable amount of anti-Chaco propaganda that had spread while on the *Volendam* and continued after landing in Argentina and later in Paraguay, convinced some of our immigrants that they did not want to go to the Chaco to live.

Several land-seeking excursions were undertaken in search of a suitable location to settle. Interest began to concentrate on a tract known as the "Mbopicua Land." A sizable party of representative men from the immigrant group and some from Colonia Friesland together with Brother C. A. DeFehr set out to inspect this land. To reach this area required an overland drive with horse and wagon from Puerto Rosario, a distance of about thirty kilometers. To make a long story short, suffice it to say that the major part of this tract was later purchased and plans completed to establish a new colony there.

Early in July, 1947, an initial group of fifty-six immigrants, equipped with machetes, saws, and axes, as well as with essential camping equipment, entered the newly purchased land and began the gigantic task of carving a home out of the primeval forest. Temporary shelter was found in a few vacant buildings that were purchased with the land. Using these as their headquarters, our immigrants began to lay out the various villages with nothing but an ordinary compass to guide them. Needless to say, this was a very tedious job. The men were convinced that the most productive parts of the land were those covered by forests. Consequently, it was resolved to build the villages on tree-cleared soil. This was a momentous

decision to make, as the forest is very dense and, therefore, very difficult to penetrate. After it had been determined in which direction the village street was to be laid, the men proceeded to cut a narrow path along this line into the heavy timber and underbrush, all interwoven with countless climbing vines, some of the latter being as thick as a man's arm. From this narrow path lateral paths were cut to the places which were to be the building sites of the individual settlers. The cutting of the first long path, which was later widened to become the village street, was the joint obligation of the village group. The same was true of the digging of the village wells.

While thinking of wells, it should be remarked here that digging them was also a very strenuous job. Most of the deep subsoil is either heavy red clay or rock. It had to be cut out with pick and crowbar, and sometimes even with hammer and chisel. One or more wells were dug for each of the twelve villages with an average labor cost of ninety man-days per well.

Individual settlers cleared their building sites. Often they had to crawl on hands and knees from the street path to their building site. The removal of the large trees as well as all the underbrush and climbing vines by means of a limited amount of hand tools was very time-consuming. Many of the trees measured a full meter in diameter. Much time and energy were also spent in walking from headquarters to their place of work in the morning, taking their lunch and drinking water with them, and then returning again in the evening. In many cases this was a four-kilometer walk.

Persistent effort, however, eventually prevailed. In a general way all the families had about the same problems to contend with; so we will describe in short the experiences and labors of one Frau Margareta Enns and her family of two daughters and three sons. Like so many others, it was her sad lot to have her husband, the father of her children, disappear in Russia about ten years ago. Since then she and her children have not received one word from him. They do not know whether he is living in misery somewhere or whether he is dead. What a relief it would be to many of these families to know that their loved ones are dead, rather than to think of them in undescribable misery!

The two daughters and their oldest brother were in the initial group of fifty-six to arrive on the scene of what was to become Colonia Volendam. Like all others, the location of their building site was determined by drawing lots. Theirs happened to be in the center of village No. 5, later named "Tiefenbrunn." The location having been determined, the brave trio began to clear a spot where the house was to be built. Taking a few hand tools, a noonday lunch, and drinking water with them, they walked from the "Talliere" (headquarters building), a distance of about three kilometers (two miles), each morning to the place which was to become their home. Each day they felled a few trees and cut away the underbrush. As soon as the clearing was large enough, they began with the construction of the house. A tree trunk of proper size and length was set into the ground at each of the four corners of the dwelling. Then a longer one was set in the middle of each end, on top of which was placed a lightweight but strong trunk to serve as ridge pole. In the middle of each side was placed another tree trunk of the same height as the corner posts. Two more long light-

weight tree trunks served as plates on top of the three side-wall posts. Shorter and lighter posts were used as rafters for the roof, and split bamboo sticks as sheeting laths. Tall grass was cut by hand on the campo, properly arranged into small bundles, saturated with mud on one end, and then secured shinglewise on the sheeting laths to complete the roof. The whole framework of the house was hewn into shape and fitted together with nothing but a machete and an ax. Many of these frames do not have a single iron nail in them. The timbers are secured with wooden pegs and the sheeting laths fastened with the thick climbing vines that are so plentiful in the underbrush of the forests.

As soon as the framework and the grass roof were finished Mother Enns and the two smaller boys came to join the faithful trio. As a family they now moved into what was going to be their home. By this time the village well had been completed. Carrying the water from this well with buckets, the Ennses began to make mud bricks and to sun-dry them. These were later fitted in between the pillars of the house frame, thus completing the walls. When I first visited the Enns family in early January, 1948, one end wall and about one half of each side wall were finished in this manner. One corner of this partly finished house served as my bedroom for about one week. To keep out the heat of the sun in daytime, grass mats had been tied together and hung over the openings in the walls that should later become windows. Under my bed, a hen with her chicks spent the nights and other hens laid their eggs in daytime. It was very practical indeed to have the eggs so near to the kitchen! The day I left the Enns family, the girls were mixing mud (by tramping it with their feet) for making more bricks.

When I returned to the same place four months later, I was gratified to see what progress had been made. The walls of the house were all filled in and plastered on both sides. The inside walls were nicely whitewashed. Even the mud floor was decorated with whitewash designs all around the edges. The mandioca plants and the kaffir, all very small in January, had grown to a height of six or seven feet. The Ennses had been eating watermelons, beans, and other vegetables out of their own garden and were just then beginning to use their own mandioca plants. The kaffir was ripe and was being used as feed for the horses, hogs, and chickens. More land was being cleared for next season's planting. The family was very happy and contented. Their neighbor lady said to me one day, "Mr. Warkentin, never before have we been as poor as we are now, but we have never been happier."

The immigrants settling in Colonia Volendam were fortunate to have in their group a number of experienced and well-trained schoolteachers. The interest in establishing schools was strong from the very beginning. Even during their stay in the San Lorenzo Lager some form of schoolwork was carried on. A teacher would gather with a group of children under a suitable shade tree to instruct them there. At present five schools are offering an opportunity to all children in the colony to attend. Equipment and supplies are primitive, and the success of the school depends largely on the initiative of the instructor. One of these schools was being taught in the partly vacated "Gemeinschaftshaus." For those of you who may not know what a "Gemeinschaftshaus" is, permit me

to say that in a number of villages they undertook to build one large, long house in common and used this for many families to live in while they constructed their own private house. The middle part of this particular "Haus" had been vacated and was now used as a schoolroom. Each one of the two end rooms was still occupied by immigrants. The partition walls consisted of suspended blankets.

All this pioneer work was, however, not without excitements and dangers. Wild antelope and ostriches are frequently seen on the campos. The rattlesnakes are noted for their size. One evening two large jaguars were seen on the street of village No. 5, apparently looking over the intruders to their domain. Vicious zebu bulls were a constant danger to the new settlers as they had to cross the open campos on foot in going to and coming from work. God, however, held His protecting hand over our people, and they have suffered no serious accidents.

The clearing of the forest and the construction of the houses with the most primitive equipment progressed very slowly, with the result that only small gardens could be planted the first year. We had hoped that the settlers would be self-supporting after December 1, 1948, but it soon became evident that our period of maintenance would have to be extended. We are now planning to keep them on full maintenance until October 1, 1948, then gradually to reduce their allowance for the next six months, and if possible to discontinue it entirely on March 31, 1949. It may be of interest to know that full maintenance as we call it consists of G20.00 (guaranies) per person per month. From this amount G2.00 in Volendam and G3.00 in the Chaco are deducted for general colony expenses and medical aid, thus leaving G17.00 or 18.00 for food. The equivalent of G18.00 is $6.00 U.S. In other words, full maintenance consists of 20¢ per person per day, and some of our people get by with even less than that. Small as this amount may seem, it is, nevertheless, a sizable amount when you think in terms of 3,500 people. Our food costs for the immigrants are at present $20,000 per month. The maintenance period could have been shortened if we could have had more equipment and supplies sooner. The lack of barbed wire for fence construction did much to retard production.

To get a modest picture of the accomplishment in Colonia Volendam during the first year, permit me to give you here a few statistics. As of April 1, 1948, they reported the building of 14 community houses and 181 private houses. All of these were built by the colony folks themselves. As of July 1, 1948, they report the colony as owning the following:

307 horses	23 colony-owned wagons
14 cows	19 privately-owned wagons
110 hogs	9 carretas (two-wheeled wagons)
1697 chickens	98 harnesses for horses

They report 243 able-bodied men, ages 16 to 60, and 334 able-bodied women, ages 15 to 50. These 577 workers have carried the heavy load of pioneering Colonia Volendam.

Each of the immigrant groups has had its own joys, excitements, disappointments, and problems. Until now we have been relating some of the

important events in the coming and settlement of the immigrants who came across from Europe on the S.S. *Volendam.* The group which came on the S.S. *General Stuart Heintzelman* had a very pleasant voyage across the Atlantic after experiencing many delays in getting out of Europe. The co-operation among the personnel of this ship, the IRO officials, the immigrants themselves, and Mrs. Elfrieda Dyck, who served as escort, was very good. The food served on board this ship was praised very highly by our people. Arriving in Buenos Aires a little ahead of schedule, they were promptly reloaded onto two river boats and a special train on the International Railroad and sped on their way to Paraguay. Everything was in readiness for them in the colonies, for much preparatory work had been done. Under the able direction of Brother C. A. DeFehr, who was assisted by Brother Vernon Neuschwander, the *Heintzelman* group, commonly known as Immigration Paraguay 481, was quickly organized into ten village groups. Suitable campos were found and measured for the new villages. Well diggers and a few expert builders from the old colonies were hired. Together with these, small groups of the newly arrived immigrants immediately went to work. Wells were dug and the most essential lumber was cut and sawed with several portable sawmills that had been hired from the old colonies. Soon a few initial houses were completed and the first families moved in. Within four months after their arrival in Buenos Aires most of these immigrants were on their own land. The large quantities of barbed wire that we had purchased for them many months before their arrival are on hand now. Land is being cleared of light brush growth and good fences are being built around these clearings. By the time the next planting season is here (September, October, November) they will be all set and ready to go. The No. 481 immigrants came much better equipped than the No. 471 (*Volendam*) folks. All this, together with more intensive organization and better planning, has given them many advantages, and according to present indications they will be on their own maintenance just as soon as the other group. The saving of one year's maintenance for these 860 people amounts to more than $60,000 U.S. and certainly is an ample reward for all extra efforts put forth to get them settled quickly. It has also done much to keep up the good morale of the group.

The coming of the S.S. *Charlton Monarch* group, known as Immigration Paraguay 482, presents a somewhat different picture. In contrast to the wonderful voyage the No. 471 and No. 481 folks had in crossing the Atlantic, theirs was a difficult one. The ship chartered by the IRO for their transportation was the S.S. *Prince David.* Our people were scheduled to sail on about April 1. After having been processed and ordered to the port of embarkation, their first disappointment was the information that a last-minute checkup had disclosed some defects in the boilers of the ship, and that they would be delayed at least two weeks while the *Prince David* was being repaired in dry dock. Upon coming out of dry dock, the ship was rechristened the S.S. *Charlton Monarch.* According to later experiences and in the opinion of our immigrants this was a misnomer. Our people named the vessel "das Gefaess," "Charlatan," a Russian term, meaning indifferent or good-for-nothing. Their voyage is a long chapter, never to be forgotten. Suffice it to say here that after sailing only from Bremerhaven

to Rotterdam the engineers walked off the job and failed to return. New engineers had to be flown in from England to take charge, causing a four-day delay. Throughout the entire voyage delays and stopovers were all too frequent and too lengthy, sometimes as much as a whole week at one place. Finally the mechanism gave out altogether, and the ship with its crew (which was intoxicated much of the time) and the priceless cargo of our 758 Mennonites with their faithful escort, Sister Elfrieda Dyck, were floating helplessly about on the high seas. This continued for three full days. Refrigeration was cut off and the food soon spoiled. The water pumps stopped working, and the women had to dip ocean water with their buckets and carry it to the few sanitary facilities still in working order. The light plant was also out of commission; so our people were in the dark much of the time. To make matters still worse during these three days, a heavy storm sprang up and threw the helpless ship about in a most merciless way. The radio sender was so weak that a call for help could not be sent very far. As an answer to prayer, God caused another ship to pass by near our distressed *Charlatan* and recognize its plight. They were, however, in the center of such a storm that the rescue ship was afraid to come near the *Charlton Monarch* at night. Finally in the morning it entered the storm and agreed to tow the disabled ship into port at Recife (Pernambuco). Here our people were stranded for fully three weeks. Pretense was made at making repairs, but nothing was accomplished. Neither the ship nor the crew was seaworthy.

Finally the IRO decided that our people had suffered enough on this voyage and should be taken by plane from Recife directly to Asuncion, Paraguay. Now things began to happen. We who had been impatiently waiting at Buenos Aires for more than a month, hurried back to Asuncion. Arriving there, we were informed that three plane-loads of immigrants had come through from Recife and were on their way to the colonies. Exactly one week after the first plane with immigrants had left Recife, the seventeenth arrived in Asuncion, bringing a total of 762 precious souls to us. To explain the discrepancy in our figures, we must report the birth of four babies en route. On Thursday, July 15, just ten days after the first plane had left Recife, the final group of 190 immigrants embarked in Asuncion on their way to the Chaco. I personally had the rare privilege to accompany one of the groups sailing on the *Iris* from Asuncion to Puerto Casado. Those days of fellowship with our brothers and sisters gave me great joy and will be long remembered. Arriving at Puerto Casado, we saw Brother C. A. DeFehr standing on the pier, ready to take charge from there on. Early the next morning they all boarded the "Chaco Express" and headed for Kilometer 145, the most popular station on the Casado Railroad. Here a colony committee took over and arranged the transportation for the final lap of the trek. The last 100 kilometers had to be made by horse- or oxen-drawn wagons.

Brother C. A. DeFehr accompanied the last group of 190 immigrants directly into the colony. Here he is continuing the desperate race against time to get the folks established on their own land in time to plant so that they also may, by the help of God, have a harvest in early 1949.

[Slightly condensed]

Mennonite Peace Action Throughout the World

Harold S. Bender

"Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God" (Matt. 5:9).

In the midst of a world whose recent and current history is marked by wars and rumors of wars, and above all by the intense struggle between the forces of World Communism marshaled under the leadership of Soviet Russia and the forces of our thousand-year-old Western civilization, we are to consider the world-wide status of Mennonite Peace Action. Well may we ask of what significance any action of so small a group as our Mennonite brotherhood can be in the face of the vast forces at play on the world's stage today and the great weight of the historic trends in our racial development which are now bearing down toward a climax still hidden from our anxious view. And, why speak at all of *Mennonite* Peace Action? Is this not a time for action by the United Nations Organization, or at least by the World Council of Churches or some other united expression of the forces of Christendom which certainly desire with all their heart the peace of the world? Why should the *Mennonite* churches, who have for the greater part throughout their history remained aloof from the affairs of state, undertake any peace action when the peace of the world so obviously depends upon the action of the powerful states dominant in the international arena?

Being aware that not all of the members of our world Mennonite family may agree on the answers to these questions, I propose nevertheless (1) to show that the Mennonite brotherhood can and should have a peace action program, (2) to outline what this program should be and (3) to report on the world-wide status of this program as it exists today.

(1) The Mennonite brotherhood can and should have a peace action program for the world, and this first because of the commission thereto which we have received from our Lord, the Prince of Peace. He has spoken in words of unmistakable clarity and urgency: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven." This passage constitutes a peace action program of world-wide outreach and limitless height and depth, not merely a thesis for philosophical or theological discussion. But Romans 12 speaks just as clearly, as do also I John and I Peter. And in the very cross itself is the greatest call of all to peace action, "having made peace through the blood of his cross." We cannot be true to our Lord and to God's Word and fail in a peace action program.

We can and must have a peace action program, in the second place, because of our historic position on war, peace, and nonresistance. For the first three hundred years of our history our brotherhood in all lands and of all persuasions unanimously and firmly held to the great confession of faith that war, vengeance, and violence in all forms are sin, being contrary to the Christian Gospel, and that accordingly the children of God can have no part in them but must resolutely and consistently follow the way

of love, regardless of consequences. Agreed that in details of interpretation and application of this great confession our fathers were not always in accord; agreed that they were not always consistent when pressed by the forces of national sentiment or state power, even as we today; agreed that they did not face universal conscription and totalitarian war as we face it today; agreed finally that they did not confront the demonic power and effectiveness of the anti-Christian movements which have seized power in our time such as Nazism or Bolshevism; the fact remains that the fathers of our common heroic and classic past, whether Dutch, Swiss, Prussian, Russian, or American, stood foursquare and united on the great essentials of Biblical nonresistance and Christian peace action. Only in the last century and only in the smaller part (at most, one fourth) of our brotherhood, namely, in Holland, Germany, and France, has the vote been cast against this position, and there are signs even here that this vote is being reconsidered.

From this basic double truth of Biblical commission and historic heritage derives the obligation and warrant for Mennonite peace action. We are the children of our past, the heirs of our heritage, and that past both calls and qualifies us for the task of a world-wide Christian peace action today. We are the oldest of the larger so-called historic peace churches (the only one which stands relatively intact today as a peace church, at least in North and South America) and we number 400,000 strong with our children. We must decide whether we will turn our backs on our past and its heritage, or whether we will take that heritage as a divine imperative to continue to stand among those blessed peacemakers whom Christ calls the sons of God. In following this imperative we will not stand in spiritual isolation but will find kindred Christian spirits everywhere who in their way will also be Christ's peacemakers, but we need not and will not diverge from the Biblical nonresistant type of peace action which is our peculiar and divinely bestowed gift.

(2) What is this type of peace action which we prefer to characterize as Biblical nonresistance? First of all, it is a way of peacemaking which is anchored in the Word of God and is a fruit of the Gospel of Christ. It is, therefore, not humanitarian pacifism divorced from Christ and based upon a mistaken confidence in natural human goodness and intelligence, but a program of action which would first make men Christian and then peaceful. Second, it is a nonresistant way, that is, one which does not use the devil to drive out Beelzebub but employs only the power of Christian love in its fullest and deepest sense, this love which comes from God and dwells in His children. It makes no compromise with the techniques of force at any time or any point. Third, it is a way which is aggressive and positive in its attack upon the problems of peace, and not merely passive. It does not withdraw from the world to the presumed security of spiritual isolation nor excuse itself from responsibility for the state of the world and man. It seeks, however, to discharge this responsibility by a sacrificial service of love, which is the way of the cross. It is the way of Matthew 5 and Romans 12 which overcomes evil by good, the way of heaping coals of fire upon the enemy's head. In other words, it brings Christ and His redeeming love into action through men.

Such a peace action program does not deny the necessity of state power in a sinful world, for it is no proposal of blind idealism or practical anarchy, but neither does it pervert the Christian Gospel by clothing the hand of love in a glove of steel. It proposes that at least the Christian brotherhood shall manifest in its own life and service uncompromisingly this way of love in order that a world grown cynical of Christian pretensions unfulfilled may not lose faith altogether in the Gospel of the Prince of Peace. And it requires, at the least, that over and through the walls of bitterness and hatred erected by the last war, Mennonites who live in lands fighting on opposing sides of the war—Dutch, French, Canadians, and Americans on the one side, and Germans on the other—strike hands of reconciliation and brotherhood in Christ.

(3) What of the present status of Mennonite peace action throughout the world? What reports do we receive from the front lines and the home bases, from the far corners of our world Mennonitism; and what may we expect of our Mennonite brotherhood as it is today, in the pursuit of a peace action program of Biblical nonresistance? The chief and encouraging news is that the brotherhood is on the march—it is moving toward the fulfillment of its calling, although the movement is slow and irregular; and further that a great and effectual door is open even though there are many adversaries.

But you desire concrete and specific materials in this report. What is actually taking place now?

First of all, can we count on a united peace action program throughout the world on the part of Mennonites everywhere? Would that the answer could be a clear yes, but it cannot be that as of today, 1948, at least not for all phases of the program outlined above. It can, and I hope will, be more true in ten years from now, after two more Mennonite world conferences have passed. But on the matter of the support of a positive peace witness through a sacrificial service of love in a world of need—on this there is almost world-wide agreement among us today. Even those among us who believe that this witness and service can and must be coupled with acceptance of war as unavoidable evil and who justify Christian participation in war, as most of our brethren in Holland, Germany, France, and in part even in Switzerland, still sincerely hold, even these are ready, I believe, to establish a united front of positive sacrificial service. Too many of us in all lands, however, do not yet see clearly that we should have an organized, continued, and powerful service-witness program of this type. There are several reasons for this. Some fear that such a program will overshadow the fundamental direct evangelistic program of the church. When their fears are satisfied, and they must be, then their support will be forthcoming in full measure. Others hesitate because they honestly do not believe that this program can be effective in the evil world of today. If such persons have been misled by the claims of some advocates of our Biblical nonresistance and peace program to believe that we expect through such efforts to bring wars speedily to an end and establish a reign of universal peace upon this bloody planet, then they have grounds to be skeptical. We make no such claim. We only propose in the midst of a warring world to carry high the torch of the love of Christ

and to extend the borders of His true kingdom, and we claim that our program will contribute to this end. May those who have been of too little faith still be persuaded of the power of love even in a warring world and join the ranks for the coming peace action program.

For this positive peace and service program we have today in the Mennonite world several agencies. Among them are the Mennonite Central Committee of the U.S.A. and Canada, the various relief committees of the churches of Holland, North and South Germany, France, and Switzerland, as well as the Vredesgroep in Holland and similar peace action groups still to be organized on a similar basis in other lands. All of these today are to a certain degree linked together through the contact each one of them has with the MCC. All of these agencies, including the MCC, could well review their fundamental policies and program with a view to making their separate and joint work more effective for peace action. A conference of all these agencies, held possibly in Europe within the next two years, could be most helpful in planning the strategy and mobilizing the resources of our Mennonite peace action throughout the world.

One part of this service-peace action program which is growing in significance as we see more clearly its possible contribution (as well as its limitations) is the voluntary Christian service program for youth. It has its roots in America in our CPS program, and has now crossed to Europe in the two short-term summer service units sponsored in Germany by the MCC with international Mennonite participation. There are other values for our churches in this voluntary service program besides the peace testimony, but this is a major value and should be cultivated and enlarged. Should not the leaders of our brotherhood in all lands lay their hands to this great opportunity and move forward, each in his own way, first in his own land, but also co-operatively, in local and international service projects, always with the Christian witness in the forefront!

Happy as is our growing agreement in the positive service aspect of our peace action program, on the point of nonparticipation in war and military service in any form we are not yet universally agreed or ready for united action. In North America all Mennonite groups are fundamentally and formally one on this point, standing shoulder to shoulder in our rejection of military service, although within our constituencies there are serious weaknesses that humble and challenge us. The record of our performance in the recent war clearly speaks a solemn warning to any complacency which might exist. In Europe the situation is entirely different. Military service was accepted without restriction in Germany and France during the recent war, and it was accepted largely in Holland. But there is a lingering tradition among the German and Swiss Mennonites that they have a historic commitment here which they do not wish to surrender completely. This feeling is strongest among the Swiss, where 85 per cent of the young men of military age still take noncombatant military service while only 15 per cent enter regular military service. The Swiss record, it might be noted in passing, is as good as that of one or two of our American groups. In Holland there is a growing movement, now a generation in the making, to return to the basic position of rejection of all

military service. At present, for instance, in the midst of Holland's heavy military commitment in the Indonesia, over 170 Mennonite young men have refused military service, taking the full CO position, with the support of about 40 per cent of all the active pastors in the Dutch congregations. In Germany also a growing number of Mennonite youth are ready to take the position that they cannot participate again in war. The entire body of elders and ministers of the West Prussian Mennonite refugees in Denmark have now taken this position. Both in Holland and Germany today even those leaders who do not share the nonresistant position, recognize it as one which has full right to be at home in the brotherhood with a just claim to the sympathetic protection of the official church organization. The latest annual meeting of the General Conferences of the Mennonites of Holland and Germany have both taken formal action in this sense.* However, the time has by far not yet come when the mass of the Mennonites of Europe will return to the position of Biblical nonresistance which their grandfathers and great-grandfathers surrendered from one to four generations ago. We cannot, therefore, expect formal united action of our world brotherhood on this point in the near future, although I feel confident that the youth of our European Mennonite churches will step ahead of their elders in the forward movement against participation in war.

The adoption of the position of complete refusal to participate in war and preparation for war by military training must mean more today in an age of totalitarian war than the simple exemption which our fathers sought and received as a special privilege. It means certainly for most of us, to satisfy our consciences as well as the requirements of the modern state, an alternate civilian service of some sort. In a world where universal war service is required, the Christian whose conscience calls him to witness positively for peace cannot be satisfied with mere exemption from the burden of sacrifice which others are compelled to carry. Our world Mennonite brotherhood has now had almost seventy years of experience in alternative service, first in Russia, then in the U.S.A. and Canada, and now in Holland. We are not yet certain, at least not all of us, that any of the forms of alternative service developed thus far fully meet the nonresistant ideal which requires complete divorcement from the military and free opportunity for useful and important service, coupled with the cultivation of personal spiritual growth and witness. It is our obligation around the world to help each other to find the best solutions to this problem within the framework of our various national governmental

* May I add at this point that I had the privilege this past year of personal discussion with Mennonite leaders in Holland and Germany who do not share the convictions of the American Mennonites in regard to nonresistance, and I know that they are also sincerely seeking on the basis of their examination of the teachings of the Scripture to find the truth in regard to this difficult problem. It is, no doubt, true through the past century that many European Mennonites have discarded nonresistance from indifference or laxness, but others, including some of the present generation, have sincerely sought to think through the problem of the Christian's relation to war and violence and to come to the right solution. It is good that those of our European delegates who disagree with us have had the opportunity to hear our testimony on nonresistance and feel the depth and sincerity of conviction with which we hold this testimony. We also wish to recognize their sincerity in holding a different position, although we hope they may be led to a united stand with us.

policies. It will probably be advisable and ultimately even necessary that our churches in Europe, including Germany, and possibly also our mission churches in other continents, plan and execute an alternative service program for their own youth who will in increasing numbers come to the position of Biblical nonresistance, including both complete nonparticipation in military training and service and a positive love and peace service and testimony.

The reference to the possible need for an alternative service program for the new Mennonite indigenous churches in what we customarily call our foreign mission fields leads to the question of the status of Mennonite peace action in these mission fields. No comprehensive answer to this question is available today. Some of the indigenous churches are just as strong peace churches as the mother churches in America. Others have difficult and unsolved problems due in part, perhaps, to reluctance to face the issue in the early stages of their history. It is possible also that on some mission fields the missionaries themselves have been delinquent in teaching Biblical nonresistance, and possibly even the mission boards and conferences at home have been negligent in their duty. Why should not our new churches in Argentina, Tanganyika, India, China, and Java be as vigorous and courageous bearers of a positive peace witness as our home churches? Or are there parts of the world where peace is secure and love reigns supreme, such as India, China, and Indonesia?

The third area of peace action on which we desire a report relates to the status of organized action among the Mennonites of the world to strengthen the basic peace convictions among their own members and to promote a direct peace witness among Christians everywhere.

First, we shall review the action within the various groups and conferences. The larger groups in the U.S.A. and Canada have organized for this purpose, having their own peace committees which seek by literature, meetings, and other appropriate action to promote the peace teaching and conviction, although this program is as yet by no means what it should be. A growing body of literature in English contributes to this work. Co-operative and representative action is undertaken in the U.S.A. by the Peace Section of the MCC and in Canada by the Conferences of Historic Peace Churches. In Holland the Vredesgroep, now over 700 members strong, has undertaken this task among the Dutch brotherhood, and has reached out its hands across the sea for co-operation with the MCC Peace Section, a co-operation which is willingly given. In the German and French language areas there is no organized action for the promotion of the nonresistant principle, and in these languages there is little peace literature. The German-speaking groups in South America are eager for help from the North American churches in this work since they take the same fundamental position. The MCC Peace Section is trying to help them by furnishing literature and sending visiting counselors and speakers, such as C. J. Rempel who went last year and others who will go in the future.

Among the German and French-speaking Mennonites of Europe there is more interest today than in the recent past in carefully restudying the Biblical teaching on peace and the historic heritage of the Mennonite Church. They welcome literature and discussion. For instance, in several

recent youth conferences in Germany, this topic was on the program; and a conference specifically for the study of Biblical nonresistance, originally called for July 3 and 4 at Thomashof, near Karlsruhe, Germany, will be held later. A recent French Mennonite Youth Conference in Nancy discussed the subject. There are other signs of interest in France and Switzerland. The shattering experiences of World War II, with its attendant disillusionment for many, have without doubt again opened minds and hearts to seek new and better ways. The way of Christian love again makes its appeal. The presence of many American Mennonite relief workers in Europe who are known to stand for Biblical nonresistance and who have given a testimony of their own sacrificial service, has no doubt also contributed to this renewed interest in Biblical nonresistance.

Second, let us consider a direct peace witness among Christians everywhere. Here little has been done thus far; our voice is not being lifted for Christ's Gospel of peace as it should be. Indirectly, everywhere our relief program goes and the name Mennonite comes to stand for something, a witness for peace is given. In Germany and Austria, for instance, there are now not a few cases of persons desiring to join the Mennonite Church just because of our peace principles. Our peace witness has been given in the Waldensian Church in Italy through various channels, including direct lectures at the Waldensian Seminary in Rome. But we are giving too slowly.

Conclusion

In this brief review of our Mennonite peace action throughout the world, there has not been time to examine the weaknesses of our position, whether in fundamental thinking, in consistent application, or in faithful and effective practice. These weaknesses are evident, and in some instances serious. There are implications of our position on the matter of the Christian's relation to the state, to the economic order, to the world as such, to the race problem, to the seemingly irresistible forward march of anti-Christian forces in this world today, which we who hold to Biblical nonresistance and positive peace action have by no means fully worked out, either in thought or in action. The best we have must be given continuously to this area of our Mennonite life and testimony until we can find a more satisfactory and complete solution than we have found thus far. In the front line of this cause must stand our scholars and theologians, our colleges, Bible schools, and seminaries.

In this review I have pointed out not only the areas of agreement but also of disagreement in our world Mennonitism, particularly in the matter of participation in war and military service. We do not despair of ultimate agreement even here, but dare to hope that as we draw nearer to each other in the common faith, love, and obedience of our Lord Jesus Christ, we may become one in our convictions and actions on this point as in all essential points of faith and life.

Christian Nonresistance: Its Foundation and Its Outreach

Guy F. Hershberger

The Christian doctrine of nonresistance is a comprehensive doctrine in two respects. First, the divine love on which it is based is an integral part of the Gospel itself, not a mere appendage to be attached or detached as convenience may require. Second, this basic divine love has many facets, reaching out into every corner of the Christian's life so that whether one is dealing with economic problems, with industrial relations, with the race question, or with neighborhood, community, and family relations, one is continually confronted with the necessity of applying the principle of love and nonresistance. In other words, it is an ethical principle which is much more far-reaching than the mere question of participation or nonparticipation in military service.

As to the integration of nonresistance with the Gospel, one can do no better than to cite the words of the Apostle Peter who says that Christ "bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness." Indeed, "hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously."[1] Many other passages of this type could be cited. Hence there is no question that in the New Testament the doctrine of the atoning work of Christ and the doctrine of love and nonresistance are inextricably intertwined.

This in turn puts a meaning into Christ's Great Commission which all too often is overlooked. "Go ye therefore, and teach [make disciples of] all nations," it says, "baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: *teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the the end of the world.*"[2] The preaching of the Gospel, the evangelization of the world, cannot be accomplished without teaching men to observe all things which Christ commanded His disciples. This surely includes the doctrine of love and nonresistance.

Here it is essential that we take a look at sixteenth-century Anabaptism in order that we may see how thoroughly it integrated the doctrine of nonresistance with the Gospel of Christ. Conrad Grebel says: "The Gospel and those who accept it are not protected with the sword, neither should they thus protect themselves . . . . True believing Christians . . . use neither the worldly sword nor engage in war, since among them taking human life has ceased entirely . . . ."[3] The Schleitheim Confession (1527) says, "Jesus Christ has made us free from the servitude of the flesh and meet for the service of God through the Spirit which He has given us. Therefore we shall surely lay down the unchristian, yea, satanic weapons of force, such as the sword. . . . And this is the strength of the words of Christ, 'I say

[1] I Peter 2:21-24.
[2] Matt. 28:19, 20.
[3] John Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe* (Scottdale, 1942), 359.

unto you, That ye resist not evil.' "[4] And Menno Simons says it is *the regenerated* who do not go to war nor engage in strife.

It is also essential to note how far-reaching was the nonresistance of the sixteenth-century Anabaptists. Refusal to perform military service was not the primary cause for the persecution which they suffered. It was rather their entire concept of Christianity, leading to the demand for a free church, which brought the wrath of the state church upon their heads. The essentials of this concept were emphasis on regeneration, newness of life, brotherhood, and aggressive evangelism, in which the principles of love and nonresistance were applied to every detail of life. It never occurred to the early fathers that love and nonresistance might be applied to the point of military service and neglected elsewhere. Their entire life was permeated with this principle. Franz Agricola declared their public life irreproachable: "No lying, deception, swearing, strife, harsh language, no intemperate eating and drinking, no outward personal display is found or discernible among them, but humility, patience, uprightness, meekness, honesty, temperance, straightforwardness. . . . "[5]

This seems to have been a genuine expression of Christian love which, in the Apostle Paul's classic characterization, suffers long, is kind, is not envious, doth not vaunt itself, and seeketh not its own.[6] In "seeking not their own" the Anabaptists did not merely refuse participation in war. They did that which is much more fundamental. They laid the ax at the root cause of war itself. They did not seek personal gain or advantage. They sought the way of brotherhood. They had no class distinctions among them. Exploitation was condemned. Attitudes of superiority, seeking of power and prestige were rebuked. They aimed at a reasonable amount of property for the group, rather than for a few within the group. It was not their desire to achieve power or prestige in this world, but rather to suffer for Christ and His church. Menno Simons condemned the materialism of his day which caused professing Christians to live in superfluity while their fellow men went begging and in want. The Brethren were forbidden to engage in any occupation whereby they would profit from war as in the making of swords and instruments of warfare. In other words, materialism, which is a major cause of war, was condemned.

When we examine our own contemporary Mennonitism by this standard, we are convinced that its horizon must be broadened and its social consciousness made sharper and more sensitive. When this occurs, the nonresistance of the Mennonites will be deeper in its meaning, more consistent in its application, and more far-reaching in its influence than is now the case. Walter Rauschenbusch tells the story of a Mennonite farmer who lost his temper and swore when the dairy rejected the milk from his farm because it was not clean. The high regard of the church for reverence to God and purity of speech is seen in that this brother was disciplined for taking the Lord's name in vain; but the dullness of its social conscience is also seen in the fact that there was no disciplinary action

[4] W. Köhler, *Brüderlich Vereinigung Etzlicher Kinder Gottes* . . . (Leipzig, 1908), 33, 34. Horsch, *op. cit.*, 360.

[5] Horsch, 295-6.

[6] I Cor. 13.

for unsanitary methods which would endanger the health of people using dairy products.[7] Whether this story is true in all of its details I am unable to say. Be that as it may, however, it serves to emphasize a most important point. The point is this, that he who believes it wrong to kill should remember that a person who dies of a tuberculosis germ obtained from a glass of milk is as dead as a man who dies from a bullet wound.

The sharpening of the social conscience, and the outreach of Christian nonresistance into every area of life is necessary, not merely that Mennonite practice may be harmonized with Mennonite theory, but also because by so doing we become peacemakers; and the converse is also true, that in not doing so we become makers of war. There is a genuine relationship between this Christian social conscience and the Christian doctrine of nonresistance. If the Christian spirit of love and nonresistance is not operative in all these areas we are guilty of warmaking, at least in these areas; and perhaps even on the international scale. Allow me to quote the following words from Arthur E. Morgan:

"We think of wars as being imposed upon essentially peaceful people by governments or by big business. Such thinking is unrealistic. While small wars may be bankers' wars or tyrants' wars, great wars are people's wars. They form out of the deeply rooted attitudes of the rank and file of men. An example is the race issue, which may be the cause of the next world war. Race discrimination imbedded in the feelings and attitudes of Americans deeply wounds the dignity and self-respect of those discriminated against. The attitude of superiority arouses hate, and leads to a determination to prove equality by force at the first opportunity. In short, such discrimination is a cause of war. More than a thousand million men of color may unite on that issue as soon as they have mastered technology and large-scale administration. At present very many Americans who call themselves peace-loving probably would choose another world war, with all its cost of lives and treasure, and with all its cost to democratic institutions, before they would give up the attitude of racial superiority."[8]

Something similar to this could be said of common economic attitudes among us. Of course we are all acquainted with the evils of big business. We know that unfair competition leads to the formation of monopolies; that these monopolies within the various nations insist upon high tariffs to keep out each other's goods; that this leads to an imperialism which then leads to international war.

This is probably no worse in principle, however, than what Mennonites do when the only measure of the quality of their religion which they can think of is the economic prosperity of their communities. Ten years ago a Mennonite from the eastern part of the United States asked the writer in all seriousness whether it was true that the great drought of the 1930's had carefully and deliberately detoured around the Mennonite settlements of Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. He had probably forgotten that in God's plan the rain and the drought fall on all people without discrimination.

[7] W. Rauschenbusch, *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (New York, 1917), 135.

[8] Arthur E. Morgan, "The Small Community as the Birthplace of Enduring Peace" (typewritten Ms.), 1.

Scripture memorization, however, sometimes plays strange tricks, even on Mennonites. Recently I had occasion to ask a class of middle-aged Mennonites what the Bible has to say about economics and business. They promptly quoted, "not slothful in business,"[9] and "go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise."[10] They might also have added, "the hand of the diligent maketh rich."[11] Not until I reminded them of it, however, did any remember the man who was too diligent in business, and whose soul was required one night;[12] or the words of Isaiah pronouncing "woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth."[13] It is strange that these good people should remember those Scriptures which, if taken alone, would encourage one to follow the course which leads to war, while forgetting those which give the necessary warning antidote to this erroneous course.

If this is what happens sometimes when Mennonites think in Scriptural terms, the result would probably be no better if the thinking were directed into political channels. Had I pressed these same people I would probably have discovered that they favor the Republican party because it removed the troublesome rationing system, and because it is more inclined to crack down on the terrible John L. Lewis than is the Democratic party. That the methods of the labor unions are often very unchristian cannot be denied, and for that reason some of the Mennonite groups have a positive testimony against affiliation with them. But only the naive mind of an unenlightened social conscience could assume that the cause and the strategy of organized labor during the past seventy-five years have been less worthy and less honorable than those of organized capital from whose galling yoke labor has sought to obtain relief. These stories illustrate in a dramatic way the need for a sharpening of the social conscience.

It is not necessary to follow Charles Clayton Morrison's argument that by virtue of our presence in this world we are necessarily party to all of its evil and, therefore, can make no honest claim to the doctrines of nonresistance and nonconformity to the world; yet, we dare not close our eyes to the fact that the complications of the industrial revolution and modern total warfare do make it more difficult than formerly to follow a consistent line of action. Certainly the fact that a crop of wheat placed on the market may eventually be used for military purposes, or perhaps for the making of whisky, need not deter a believer in nonresistance, or an advocate of abstinence from the use of intoxicating beverages, from engaging in an occupation whose primary purpose is the production of food for humanity. Every nonresistant Christian with a sharpened social conscience will be aware of this problem, however, and will strive to follow the most consistent course possible. He will be aware that during World War II popcorn was used as insulation in battleships, and soybeans for the manufacture of essential war materials; and he will earnestly seek the most enlightened possible course out of this difficult situation. Certainly when it becomes evident that his labors in a given situation are directed

[9] Rom. 12:11. [10] Prov. 6:6. [11] Prov. 10:4.
[12] Luke 12:16-20. [13] Isa. 5:8.

primarily to an effort opposed to his profession, the Christian with a sharpened conscience will take steps to direct his labors elsewhere. In our complex world some of these decisions are not easy to make; but others are so obvious that they ought to be no problem to earnest Christians of ordinary intelligence. For example, the earnest nonresistant Christian will certainly not work in a factory manufacturing vital parts for bombing planes, any more than a consistent Christian who testifies verbally against the use of tobacco and alcoholic beverages will make his livelihood in the wine industry, or by growing or selling tobacco; nor will plain Mennonites who place great emphasis on nonconformity in dress make their living by manufacturing or selling clothing of a type which violates every principle which they profess. These are not imaginary illustrations. They are actual illustrations of inconsistencies among the Mennonites of America today.

This enlightened social conscience will also direct Mennonite investment funds away from enterprises whose business ethics are in conflict with Christian ethics. There is the rather well-known story of Trinity Church in New York whose parishioners fifty or more years ago undertook to remedy certain housing conditions in the slums of the city, only to discover that some of the worst tenements were owned by Trinity Church, through investments made by fiduciary organizations to whom the trustees of the church had entrusted its endowment funds. It would be just as interesting to discover how much Mennonite investment capital is helping to finance corporations engaged in unchristian enterprises, or corporations whose labor policies are unenlightened and unchristian, or whose policies in general contribute to social conflict and eventually to war. Another area where the nonresistant conscience of the American Mennonites needs to be sharpened and intensified is the area of race relations. In Christ "there is neither Greek nor Jew . . . Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all."[14] The black man of Ethiopia was as worthy to be baptized and received into the church as was Saul of Tarsus, a Hebrew of the Hebrews. In theory, no doubt, Mennonites have always adhered to the principle of love toward all men, regardless of race. In actual practice, however, this principle has been violated too frequently among them. There have been cases where they have hesitated to receive into the brotherhood converts who did not happen to have a Mennonite ancestry; or, having received them, failed to maintain the same brotherly attitude toward them as they did toward the children of Mennonite families.[15] In certain Mennonite communities there have been cases of anti-Jewish sentiment; in other cases some Mennonites seem to share the common prejudices against the Negro; in some cases Mennonites have also been known to object to the presence of migrant Mexican laborers in their worship services. These are manifestations of the spirit of war, the opposite of love and nonresistance.

If the nonresistant thinking of the average Mennonite lacks the depth and the breadth which it ought to have, it is probably due in part to the

[14] Col. 3:11.

[15] Cf. John Umble, "Race Prejudice an Obstacle to Evangelism in the Mennonite Church," *Goshen College Record Review Supplement* (Goshen, Ind., September, 1926), 29-32.

fact that the church has not fully recovered from the prolonged lethargy caused by the loss of its early leadership and by several centuries of persecution. It is no doubt also due in part to the subtle influences of our secular civilization which substitutes material values for spiritual ones even in the thinking of people who have a desire to be spiritual.

During the past seventy-five years, however, Mennonites have experienced an awakening which brings great hope for the future. Their advance in the writing and publication of literature, in education, in the quality of their ministry, in their home and foreign mission program, and now in their relief and service program, is genuinely remarkable. Within the past generation this advance has brought the Mennonites through a certain intellectual and spiritual crisis which has made it necessary for them to rethink their entire position and program. The achievements of the war period and the vision demonstrated in the present World Conference of Mennonites are evidence that this crisis has lifted the church to new heights, given it a new vision, and prepared it for a new era of dynamic faith and aggressive work.

Many who had suffered from formalism, lifeless traditionalism, and complacency have had a new experience which has given them a new social consciousness, causing them to look outward with a sense of mission and a vision for service such as they had never had before. Others who had been misled by a utopian kind of social consciousness not based on the Gospel of Christ have also had a new experience which has taught them to distinguish Christian nonresistance from other forms of so-called pacifism, with their erroneous attitudes toward the Bible, toward man and toward sin, and with an expectancy for the future based on an idea of progress not found in the Scriptures. These new experiences should first of all give us the poise necessary for a forward-looking program.

When Mennonites have this poise they will not be too much disturbed by writers like John C. Bennett who criticize their way of life as "a strategy of withdrawal," which fails to "assume full responsibility for the political order."[16] They will be fully aware, on the one hand, that a disciple of Christ cannot assume full responsibility for the kind of political order found in a sub-Christian society. On the other hand, they will also understand the responsibility which they must assume in maintaining a fully enlightened social conscience; in testifying to all the world, including kings and governors, concerning the truth of the Gospel and Christian discipleship; and in carrying forward an aggressive program of love in action through evangelism, relief, and social service from Jerusalem and Judea to the uttermost parts of the world. They will also be certain that when they are engaged in this program their strategy is not one of withdrawal. It is one of positive, constructive service capable of consuming all the energies at their disposal. When Mennonites have this poise they will not be too much concerned about the publicity which their work receives. Their concern will be rather that they may testify to the truth to all men everywhere, and that their deeds may harmonize with their words. In so doing they will be a true light of the world, the salt of the earth.

[16] John C. Bennett, *Christian Ethics and Social Policy* (New York, 1946), especially pages 41-46.

In this year of our Lord 1948, Mennonites of the world are called upon as they never were before to recover the Anabaptist vision of the sixteenth century, which has no other foundation than that which is laid in Jesus Christ. When they have recovered this vision in all its fullness the Mennonites may well again be, as they were four hundred years ago, the foremost missionary church of their time. As Franklin H. Littell says, "the Anabaptists were sending their missioners wherever they could get a hearing, for (said they), 'The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof' "[17] We find no better illustration of this than in the words of Menno Simons who says:

"We desire with ardent hearts, even at the cost of life and blood, that the holy Gospel of Jesus Christ and His apostles . . . may be taught and preached through all the world.[18]

We preach, therefore, as much as is in our power, both day and night, in houses and in the open air, in forests and in wildernesses, hither and thither, in this and in foreign lands, in prisons and in dungeons, in water and fire, on the scaffold and on the wheel, before lords and princes, orally and by writings, at the risk of possessions and blood, life and death. . . .[19]

"This is my only joy and desire of my heart, that I may extend the borders of the kingdom of God, publish the truth, reprove sin, teach righteousness, feed the hungry with the word of the Lord, lead the stray sheep into the right path, and win many souls to the Lord through His Spirit, power and grace."[20]

This is the Menno Simons who said:

"These regenerated . . . are the children of peace, who have beaten their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, and know of no war. . . .[21] They show mercy and love as much as they can; suffer no beggars amongst them; take to heart the need of the saints; receive the miserable; take the stranger into their houses; console the afflicted; assist the needy; clothe the naked; feed the hungry; do not turn their face from the poor, and do not despise their own flesh."[22]

Here is the integration of nonresistance with the Gospel which puts it on a sound and sure foundation. Here is a social conscience with sharpness and clarity, and breadth and depth. Here is a burning zeal set aflame by the Spirit of God Himself. Here is the combination of factors which will enable the Mennonite Church of our day to go onward showing forth the way of true Christian discipleship in the home and family, in the neighborhood and community, in economic and business relationships, in relations between races and classes, between employers and employees, between nations and states. Here is true Christian nonresistance with a sure and sound foundation and with an outreach which has no end.

[17] Franklin H. Littell, "The Anabaptist Theology of Missions," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (January, 1947), 21:10.

[18] Menno Simons, *Complete Works* (Elkhart, Ind., 1871), 2:243; *Die Vollständigen Werke* (Baltic, Ohio, 1926), 2:345.

[19] *Works,* 2:10; *Werke,* 2:11, 12.

[20] *Works,* 1:75; *Werke,* 1:109.

[21] *Works,* 1:170; *Werke,* 1:242.

[22] *Works,* 2:309; *Werke,* 2:437.

The Limitations of Nonconformity

Paul Mininger

Introduction

"Nonconformity to the world" is an ideal which has had an important influence upon all churches in the Anabaptist tradition, but has received particular emphasis among certain groups of Mennonites in America. It grows out of three basic convictions that are a part of the faith of the church. The first conviction that underlies this ideal is the belief that the "world" is under the control of Satan, the enemy of God. By the "world" is meant the secular order of human society, together with its thoughts, beliefs, interests, motives, attitudes, practices, institutions, and systems that are contrary to God's will.

A second conviction that underlies the ideal of nonconformity to the world is the belief that God is seeking to redeem man from sin and give him a new life. This new life is one of fellowship with God and is lived under the impulse of the purpose to glorify God and bring all of life into harmony with the divine plan. This new life becomes effective in human experience as a result of man's response of faith and trust in God's love and grace as it is revealed in Jesus Christ.

The third conviction that underlies the ideal of nonconformity to the world is the belief that God is seeking to create a new society, the church, composed of those who are living by His grace in obedience to His will. The purpose of this new society is to externalize in history the divine plan for man in his human relationships and to serve as a redemptive force in ministering God's grace to the world. The church by its very nature provides opportunity whereby the members of the fellowship may be of mutual edification to one another and it also provides the channels whereby the Gospel may be given to the world and new disciples may be brought into the fellowship.

There are many ways of describing the new way of life which God is seeking to bring to man. It may be described from the standpoint of God's relation to His people and the working of His Spirit among them. It is a "Spirit-filled" life. It may be described with reference to the relationship that should exist among the members of the fellowship and the standards that should guide them in their living. It is a "Christian" life. It may also be described by comparing it with the way of life that is dominant in the larger society—the world. It is this latter approach which is made by those who emphasize the new life as one of "nonconformity to the world." Those who hold to this ideal believe that the life of the Christian is different from that of the man who is not a Christian. They believe that the church and the world represent ways of thinking and living that are widely different.

One of the corollaries of this conception is that because of the sharp difference between the Christian and the non-Christian, the two cannot enter close fellowship or friendship one with the other. This principle of separation from the world has often resulted in an unwillingness on the part of Mennonites to become members of a voluntary association made up

largely of non-Christians. They do not want to become a part of an "unequal yoke" in which they are either legally or morally responsible for the evil or questionable practices of the association. An illustration of this principle is seen in the refusal of many Mennonites to become members of the lodge or of the labor unions.

The Value of the Nonconformity Ideal

Before speaking of the limitations of this emphasis, I would like to point out briefly the value which it has in the life of the Christian, the church, and the world. The greatest educator of man is the community—the society of which he is a part. It transmits to its members the ways of thinking and acting that are dominant at that particular time. It has various devices by which it brings pressure to bear upon its members to conform to the communal patterns of thought and living. When the standards, ideals, and practices of a society are sinful and secular, an individual or a minority group within that society (such as the church) cannot well establish or maintain a different or a higher way of life without giving an effective critique of the larger community and its way of life.

The ideal of nonconformity accents this difference between the church and the world. It sharpens the antithesis between the life lived for God and the life that is lived without Him. It develops within the church a mind-set which is critical of the conventional practices of a worldly and secular society and forces all of the elements in the current culture to be judged by the Word of God before it gains entrance into the life of the Christian. The ideal of nonconformity to the world further insists that those elements of the culture which are admitted be infused with the Spirit of Christ. This is a valuable and necessary emphasis if a positive Christian culture is to be achieved in the Christian community.

The ideal of nonconformity also has value because of its influence upon the world. The presence of a Christian community which refuses to conform to the dictates of the world because it is committed to the Lordship of Jesus Christ serves the important function of being a conscience to the world, judging its sins and giving it moral and spiritual direction. Only a nonconformed church can be salt to the earth and a light to the world.

The Limitations of the Ideal of Nonconformity

In the further development of the topic of this paper, we shall first consider the limitations of nonconformity as an ideal and then comment briefly upon certain limitations in the practice of nonconformity among American Mennonites.

1. The ideal or principle of nonconformity to the world is entirely negative in its meaning and, therefore, does not furnish any general or specific guidance to the individual or the church in the development of the Christian life or in meeting moral and spiritual problems. The principle says "do not" but gives no suggestion as to the direction in which one ought to go. The Christian life is more than a series of negations and refusals. It has a positive content that gives it meaning and value as well as direction. The principle by itself is, therefore, incomplete.

2. Nonconformity to the world as an ideal is also lacking in any power to motivate conduct. It is a law or code and has all of the limitations of law. It provides a "must" but does not provide a "how." It is true that there is inherent in the principle the element of conflict between the Christian and the world, and this conflict may awaken and release certain impulses that motivate conduct. However, these incentives, if awakened, are hardly in themselves Christian even if they are capable of producing conduct.

The Apostle Paul gave negative teachings and put restrictions upon the conduct of his people, but he also supplemented them with positive suggestions or directions together with supporting motives. Illustrations of this are seen in the following:

Negative: "And be not conformed to this world:
Positive: "But be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind,
Motive: "That ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God" (Rom. 12:2).

Negative: "Wherefore putting away lying,
Positive: "Speak every man truth with his neighbour:
Motive: "For we are members one of another" (Eph. 4:25).

Negative: "Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice:
Positive: "And be ye kind one to another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another,
Motive: "Even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you" (Eph. 4:31, 32).

3. The principle of nonconformity to the world separates man from the world and its sins, but it gives him no sense of responsibility for the salvation of the world from its sin. It develops the attitude of conflict with the world rather than the redemptive attitude.

4. Since this is true, the principle alone does not have within it the power to reproduce itself. Those whose primary emphasis or sole emphasis is upon nonconformity cannot develop this same spirit or attitude among others. There is no power within the law to awaken a response of obedience in those who are not committed to the law.

5. The above is equivalent to saying that the principle of nonconformity does not contain within it the essential elements of the Gospel. It is law and not Gospel. It is a result and not cause. Therefore, we cannot expect it to accomplish what the Gospel alone can accomplish.

Limitations in the Practice of Nonconformity

A complete critique of the practice of nonconformity among Mennonites would carry one far beyond the immediate purpose of this paper. However, the topic would seem to require a brief discussion of the limitations to be found in our practice as well as the limitations of the ideal. Some of the limitations in practice grow out of the very nature of the ideal itself. Others are not necessarily inherent in the ideal but are the result of an imperfect application of the ideal to a particular historical situation.

1. The practice of nonconformity among us has too often resulted in a negative type of goodness. We do not go to war, we do not steal, we do not get divorces, we do not gamble. This is all to the good but it is possible to refuse to do all of these things and yet not be Christian.

2. Many people who are guided by the principle of nonconformity refuse to conform to the world in certain externals of behavior but imitate the world in their spirit and inner life. The word "nonconformity" seems to suggest more the idea of difference in outward form and conduct rather than including as well the inner purpose and spirit.

3. Where the emphasis is primarily upon the externals of the Christian life, the group tends to perpetuate these outward forms by a process of social conditioning rather than through giving insight and understanding with the purpose of securing voluntary acceptance. This blind conformity to the social group, even though it is the church, cannot but result in stagnation and sterility.

4. Another serious limitation in our practice is that we are often satisfied to be nonconformed in a few aspects or phases of our lives, and at the same time there are other large areas in which we have completely conformed to the world and its ways. *We have often not gone far enough in our break with the world.* One of the most obvious illustrations of this is our unwillingness to participate in the military life of our country, and yet at the same time accept uncritically an economic system which is motivated by profit and which, in practice, frequently violates the Christian ethics.

5. Any fair appraisal of the practice of nonconformity among American Mennonites will reveal that *at times we have carried the idea too far.* We have believed so sincerely in nonconformity and have been so determined to apply it in every area of experience that at times it seems we have been different merely for the sake of being different. We have frequently failed to recognize that there are large areas of our common life which we share with the non-Christian members of our society. An illustration of this common life is in the economic sphere. The Christian and non-Christian are both producers and consumers of food. They need shelter and clothing and may engage in activities to provide them for themselves and their fellows. They use certain methods of communication and transportation. They carry out the responsibilities of marriage and family life.

The exact nature of man's common life in each of these areas is determined in part by the particular culture in which he happens to live. That may vary from nation to nation and from one generation to another. There is no one specifically and exclusively Christian culture in which Christian food is eaten, a Christian type of architecture is used for housing, a Christian costume is worn, or a Christian means of communication is used. The New Testament does not present one culture that is to be perpetuated unchanged to the end of time. The Christian brings to his common life in the culture in which he lives a faith in God as He is revealed in Christ, the Christian purpose to glorify God, the Christian standard of love in his relationship to his fellows, and the Christian standard of stewardship in his relation to material goods.

There will be many activities in the common life that come under the judgment of the Christian standard and in which the Christian cannot participate. He will there be nonconformed and follow the mind of Christ rather than compromise.

This may mean in some instances standing aloof from the common life. For many of us this can be our only response to modern commercialized amusements. It may mean ridicule by the world. This is often the case with those Mennonites, who, finding in the fashions of the western world the expression of pride and lust, break with that phase of their common life and adopt a pattern which is more in keeping with the Christian standard of simplicity, humility, economy, and purity. It may mean persecution, as in the case of our fathers who found in the state-church idea a violation of the Christian standard. It may mean migration, as in the case of those who left their homeland rather than compromise with the state in the matter of military training.

On the other hand, there will be many activities in which the Christian engages which seem to be identical with those of his non-Christian neighbors. There is nothing in them which is inherently wrong. They are in the area of the "adiaphora." There would not seem to be any reason why the Christian should be nonconformed here. However, in the practice of nonconformity among American Mennonites, our zeal for the principle has sometimes led us to break with our surrounding culture in matters that are a part of our common life and are of no moral or religious significance. We have sometimes practiced nonconformity to our surrounding culture, rather than nonconformity to the world. We have adopted a different culture from that around us and that different culture has not been necessarily Christian.

6. There has also been a tendency to identify a particular cultural expression with the will of God and then cling to it by appealing to the principle of nonconformity. The same tendency is seen in the practice of equating nonconformity with conservatism in matters of cultural and social change. An illustration of this tendency is seen in the tenacity with which certain groups resisted such things as the use of the English language.

7. Another limitation in our practice of nonconformity has been the tendency to think of the secular society as outside of our concern. The result is that we isolate ourselves so completely from it that we are not able to fulfill our full social responsibility and are not in sufficiently close touch with it to reach it effectively with the Gospel. We have sometimes sought to get out of the world rather than to live the Christian life and give our Christian witness within the world. We have been too well satisfied to live and let live (or live and let die!), rather than live and make alive. We have built walls to keep the world out and those same walls have kept the Gospel in.

8. In our attempts to interpret and apply the principle of nonconformity, we have frequently found that we have differed among ourselves. These differences in the application of the principle of nonconformity have been responsible for many of the divisions that have occurred among us. The principle of separation has led us to limit our fellowship, in many cases, to those whose interpretation of nonconformity is identical with

ours. This has denied us the privilege of receiving the enrichment and correction that might have come from a larger fellowship. It has also prevented us from making our contribution to the larger fellowship.

9. One of the most serious limitations in our practice of nonconformity is the tendency toward perfectionism and its resulting self-righteousness. When an individual or a group has the courage to stand against the social pressure of our American life and take a position that makes him conspicuous before his fellows, there is a subtle temptation for him to believe that, because of this one conspicuous difference, he has achieved the will of God and has merited the favor of God. Perfectionists are guilty of either lowering the standard of God or of being under the delusion that they are better than they are. Some of our people are guilty of both in their attitude toward and practice of nonconformity. In our emphasis upon nonconformity, we must remember that God alone is good and that alone is good which He does. A principle of living which produces self-confidence and self-security rather than reliance upon God and His grace has wandered far from the Biblical norm.

How May We Overcome These Limitations?

An analysis of the limitations of nonconformity is valuable only if it becomes the starting point for a plan of action which will overcome these limitations. I would like to propose four basic essentials if we are to rise above the limitations discussed above.

1. The Mennonite Church needs a clearer understanding of the meaning of the doctrine of nonconformity to the world and a keener sensitiveness to the real conflict that exists between the church and the world. For most of us this is more necessary than an understanding of the limitations of nonconformity. The world is against the church. This world is not a friend of grace. The church dare never make peace with the world. The basic premise of this doctrine is sound and we need to dig deeper so that we may more fully comprehend the words of the Apostle Paul, "Be not conformed to this world."

2. The Mennonite Church needs a deeper experience of the Gospel and a more profound understanding of its nature and purpose. There can be no true understanding of the doctrine of nonconformity to the world without an appreciation of what God is seeking to do for man through Jesus Christ. The transformed mind ("Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind") can be produced only by the Gospel. God is seeking to recreate in man the divine image of "agape" (love) and create in society a "koinonia" (fellowship) of the Spirit. His method of accomplishing this purpose was to send His Son, Jesus Christ, into the world. He revealed the Father's love, took upon Himself the consequences of man's sins, and released the power of the Spirit that enables men to be made anew. By a faith-union with the living Christ, man is changed into the divine image. Love and fellowship flow from a life that is in living union with Christ. There are no "limitations" to this new life that is motivated by love. The entire Christian life is included in it. Love facing Christ responds with commitment and devotion; love facing sinners responds with a witness to the Gospel of the grace of God. When love confronts human need it responds with sharing. When it

confronts injustice, it responds with forgiveness and restoration. When it faces violence, its response is nonresistance. It must be remembered that this new life, which is different from that of the world, is made possible only by the Gospel.

3. The Mennonite Church must work more diligently at the task of properly relating the unchanging Christian message to the culture and civilization of our time. This difficult and continuing task must be undertaken in the light of God's revelation in His Word and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Proper recognition must be given to the interpretations of the past but a living church is less interested in tradition than in knowing the will of God for its life in the culture and civilization of today. This task can be undertaken by the church only after it has had a transformed mind and is conscious of the basic difference between itself and the world. Only then can it "prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God."

4. The Mennonite Church of today must recover its sense of mission and rededicate itself to bringing the Gospel to the world. We often hear it said that "we are *in* the world but not *of* the world." We too often forget that we are *for* the world. If we concentrate our energies upon saving ourselves and preserving our traditions, or even upon being nonconformed, the values that we have will certainly vanish in our hands. The only way to really retain true spiritual values is to quicken them with the divine imperative of witnessing to the world. The paradox of Jesus is true for the church as well as for individuals. "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it" (Matt. 16:25).

Bibliographical and Research Notes

I. General and Bibliographical

PUBLICATIONS OF THE MENNONITISCHER GESCHICHTSVEREIN IN GERMANY 1936-1950

The Mennonite Historical Society of Germany (Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein) was founded April 24, 1933, in Berlin by action of the Board of Directors of the Union of Mennonite Churches in Germany (Vereinigung der Mennoniten-gemeinden im Deutschen Reich) which designated the first four officers as follows: Christian Neff (Weierhof), chairman; Ernst Crous (Göttingen), vice-chairman; Christian Hege (Frankfurt), secretary; Hendrik van Delden (Gronau), treasurer. The initial membership of 33 grew to 167 by the time of the first general members' meeting held in Gronau in 1936, to 461 by 1940, and ultimately reached approximately 700. The constitution which was adopted at this meeting states five purposes: (1) collection of originals and copies of documents in an archives, (2) publication of source materials and monographs, (3) collection of works on Mennonites in a library, (4) support of publications on Mennonite history by others, (5) cultivation of Mennonite family history. Neither the archives nor the library was established, but a periodical publication was begun in 1936 *(Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter)* and a publication series *(Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins)* in 1938. The libraries of both Neff and Hege were given to the Society after their decease in 1943 and 1946, but have not yet been brought together in a central depository. An annual subsidy was granted to the *Verein für Reformationsgeschichte* for several years toward the publication of the *Täuferakten* series of that Society.

Annual meetings of the Society, at which usually two or more historical addresses were given, were held every year from 1936 to 1939 inclusive, and resumed again in 1947 after the war. In 1947 Ernst Crous was elected chairman, E. Händiges, vice-chairman, Paul Schowalter, secretary, and Gerrit van Delden, treasurer.

In 1948 the Society created a commission for the publication of the *Täuferakten* in co-operation with the *Verein für Reformationsgeschichte.* In the same session a Section for Family History was created, to be directed by Dr. Kurt Kauenhowen(Göttingen), and a Center for Research (Mennonitische Forschungsstelle) was set up to be located at Göttingen and operated under the direction of Chairman Crous.

Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter, Herausgegeben vom Mennonitischen Geschichtsverein, Weierhof (Pfalz). I. (Nov., 1936) 64 pp., 2 RM.; II. (Dec., 1937) 64 pp., 2 RM.; III. (Dec. 1938) 100 pp., 2.60 RM.; IV. (Aug., 1939) 64 pp., 1.50 RM.; V. (Aug., 1940) 64 pp., 1.50 RM.; VI. (Neue Folge, Apr., 1949) 48 pp., 2 DM.

This is the official organ of the Mennonite Historical Society of Germany, edited until 1940 by Christian Hege of Frankfurt a.M., and beginning with 1949 by a committee composed of Paul Schowalter (Weierhof), Ernst Crous (Göttingen), and Horst Quiring (Korntal bei Stuttgart). Though announced as a semiannual in the first issue it never appeared in more than one annual number. Its purpose as stated by editor Hege in the first issue was "to keep its readers informed of the results of current research and enlarge the knowledge of our history by special articles." As organ of

the society it also published the official minutes and reports of the annual meetings.

In addition to six to nine briefer articles, chiefly in the nature of reports on documents, literature, Mennonite historical items, and advance prints of articles later to appear in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* each number I-VI carried regular departments for "Book Reviews" and "Genealogical Research," and irregular departments for "News from the Churches" and "Colonization History." Although only three substantial full-length historical articles appeared, two by Ernst Crous, "The Contributions of the Mennonites to the Reconstruction of Germany in the Time of the Thirty Years' War" (III) and "How the Mennonites Were Assimilated into the German National Culture" (IV), and one by Otto Schowalter, "Cultural Contributions of the Hamburg Mennonites" (III), almost every one of the shorter articles is valuable. The annual report on periodical articles dealing with Mennonites (II-V) is a valuable bibliographical contribution. An index of all articles arranged chronologically by authors follows: Peter Braun: "Archive von Bolschewisten zerstört" (Vol. I, 1936, p. 32); Ernst Crous: "Der Beitrag der Mennoniten zum Wiederaufbau Deutschlands" (Vol. III, p. 22); "Wandernde und versteckte Täuferhandschriften" (Vol. III, p. 61); "Wie die Mennoniten in die deutsche Volksgemeinschaft hineinwuchsen" (Vol. IV, p. 13); "Walter Koehler" (Vol. VI, p. 31); Franz Crous: "Mennonitenfamilien in Zahlen" (Vol. V, 1940, p. 26); Walter Fellman: "Zwei beachtenswerte Stammbucheinträge" (Vol. I, p. 51); "Fünf alte Wormser Täuferdrucke" (Vol. II, p. 25); "Ein Kirchenbuch der Gemeinde Johannistalerhof" (Vol. III, p. 87); "Das Täufertum im Urteil zweier Gegenwartsdichter" (Vol. IV, p. 40); "Vier Mannheimer mennonitische Kirchenbücher" (Vol. IV, p. 57); "Christian Hege" (Vol. VI, p. 21); Hans Harder: "Die Mennoniten in der deutschen Literatur" (Vol. V, p. 25); Adele Hege: "Gedenkworte" (Vol. VI, p. 15); Christian Hege: "Eine neue Menno-Biographie" (Vol. I, p. 16); "Ein Predigerverzeichnis aus dem Jahre 1787" (Vol. I, p. 20); "Ein kurpfälzisches Bücherverbot" (Vol. I, p. 24); "Geschichtsforschung der westpreuss. Mennoniten" (Vol. I, p. 30); "Johann Loserth" (Vol. I, p. 36); "Neuere Urteile der Historiker" (Vol. II, p. 5); "Pfarrer D. John. Adam †" (Vol. II, p. 46); "Geschichtliches aus Gemeinden" (Vol. II, p. 57); "König Ferdinand und die Täuferverfolgung" (Vol. II, p. 60); "Hinrichtung ohne Rechtsprechung in der Schweiz" (Vol. II, p. 62); "Das älteste Schrifttum der Taufgesinnten" (Vol. III, p. 1); "Noch eine Marbeck-Schrift entdeckt" (Vol. III, p. 13); "Das Elbinger Gotteshaus von 1590" (Vol. III, p. 83); "Familie Borkholder" (Vol. III, p. 85); "Das Täufertum in Österreich" (Vol. IV, p. 1); "Die Gemeinde Rosenort bei Danzig" (Vol. IV, p. 51); "Die Anfänge unserer Ansiedlungen in Kanada" (Vol. IV, p. 54); "Die Mennoniten in den Kriegsgebieten 1939/40" (Vol. V, p. 6); "Österreichische Täuferakten" (Vol. V, p. 22); Gerhard Hein: "Leupold Scharnschlager" (Vol. IV, p. 6); Erich Keyser: "Die Mennoniten im Weichsellande" (Vol. V, p. 1); Fritz Kliewer: "Die Mennoniten-Kolonie Friesland" (Vol. III, p. 56); K. Kauenhowen: "Herbert Wiebe" (Vol. VI, p. 34); "Fritz van Bergen" (Vol. VI, p. 36); Walther Koehler: "Das Täufertum in Calvins Institutio" (Vol. II, p. 1); "Der Verfasser des 'Libellus confutationis'" (Vol. III, p. 11); "Die Verantwortung im Täufertum des 16. Jahrh." (Vol. V, p. 10); Cornelius Krahn: "Menno Simons in Deutschland" (Vol. I, p. 13); "Zur Auswanderung der Mennoniten von Maxweiler" (Vol. III, p. 81); Johann Loserth: "Reichsgesetze gegen die 'Wiedertäufer'" (Vol. I, p. 27); "Nikolsburg" (Vol. III, p. 16); Christian Neff: "Menno Simons" (Vol. I, p. 9);

"Zum Gedenken an Chr. Hege" (Vol. VI, p. 14); "Bibliographie von Chr. Hege" (Vol. VI, p. 23); Wilhelm Niepoth: "Merkwürdigkeiten und Schwierigkeiten bei der Erforschung mennonitischer Familien am Niederrhein" (Vol. IV, p. 25); Werner Pletscher: "Wo entstand das Bekenntnis von 1526?" (Vol. V, p. 20); Horst Quiring: "Die Anthropologie Pilgram Marbecks" (Vol. II, p. 10); "Aus den ersten Jahrzehnten der Mennoniten in Westpreussen" (Vol. II, p. 32); Otto Schowalter: "Kulturleistungen der Hamburger Mennoniten" (Vol. III, p. 33); Paul Schowalter: "Die Essinger Konferenzen 1759 und 1779" (Vol. III, p. 49); "Ein Predigerverzeichnis vom Jahre 1766" (Vol. III, p. 88); "Zum Gedenken an Chr. Neff" (Vol. VI, p. 2); "Bibliographie von Chr. Neff" (Vol. VI, p. 11); "Mennonitische Zeitschriften und Bücher" (Vol. VI, p. 45); Herbert Wiebe: "Die Mennoniten im Weichselgebiet" (Vol. II, p. 36); "Mennonitische Familiennamen in den Weichselniederungen" (Vol. IV, p. 34).

Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins. Nr. 1. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mennoniten (Festgabe fur D. Christian Neff zum 70.* Geburtstag.) 1938 pp. 96. 2 RM. Nr. 2 *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten (Festgabe zum 5. Deutschen Mennonitentag vom 17. bis 19. Juni 1939 zu Krefeld)* pp. 185. 2.50 RM. Nr. 3. Ansiedlung mennonitischer *Niederländer im Weichselmündungsgebiet von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhundrets bis zum Beginn der preussischen Zeit.* HORST PENNER. *Die Familiennamen der westpreussischen Mennoniten.* GUSTAV E. REIMER. 1940, pp. 144. 3 RM.

The first two volumes, published in the publication series of the Society, both collections of briefer historical essays, are of outstanding value, although the individual essays vary both in length and significance. The second volume, made possible by a generous subsidy of the Crefeld Mennonite Church, is especially noteworthy for several highly important essays. A complete table of contents of both volumes is here given, the more important essays being indicated by an asterisk. Vol. I: *A Braun, Pfarrer in Ibersheim: "Die kirchlichen Spaltungen in den russlanddeutschen Mennonitengemeinden" (p. 7); W. Fellmann, Pfarrer in Monsheim: "Kriegsheimer Mennoniten und Quäker in ihrer religiösen Verschiedenheit" (p. 19); *Lic. theol. E. Händiges, Pastor in Elbing: "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mennonitengemeinde Elbing-Ellerwald" (p. 25); Christian Hege, Schriftleiter in Frankfurt a.M.: "Heidelberg, Einflüsse auf die Geschichte der Mennoniten" (p. 44); *G. Hein, Pfarrer in Sembach: "Täufer in Speyer" (p. 48); D. Dr. W. Köhler, Universitätsprofessor in Heidelberg: "Zur Geschichte des Täufertums in Kempten" (p. 67); Dr. E. Crous, Bibliotheksrat in Berlin: "Zu den Bibelübersetzungen von Hätzer und Denk" (p. 72); O. Schowalter, Pastor in Altona a.Elbe: "Mennoniten in der allgemeinen deutschen Literatur" (p. 83); Paul Schowalter, Vikar auf dem Weierhof: "Bibliographie von D. Chr. Neff" (p. 89). Vol. II: Dr. Kurt von Beckerath: "Zum Geleit!" (p. 3); *Dr. Dirk Cattepoel: "Das religiöse Leben in der Krefelder Mennonitengemeinde des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts" (p. 5); *Dr. Ernst Crous: "Die rechtliche Lage der Krefelder Mennonitengemeinde im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert" (p. 29); "Urkunden und Zeugnisse zur rechtlichen Stellung der Mennoniten in Krefeld" (p. 50); *Pastor Gustav Kraemer: "Von der wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Bedeutung der Mennoniten für Krefeld" (p. 58); Dr. Walther Risler: "Zur Baugeschichte der Mennonitenkirche zu Krefeld" (p. 79); Dr. Dirk Cattepoel: "Die akademisch vorgebildeten Prediger der Krefelder Mennonitengemeinde" (p. 81); Dr. Walther Risler: "Quellen zur Geschichte der Krefelder Mennonitenfamilien" (p. 88); *Dr. Walther Risler: "Das Mün-

chen-Gladbacher Mennonitenverzeichnis von 1654" (p. 94); Rektor Wilhelm Niepoth: "Die Mennonitengemeinde in Krefeld und ihre Beziehungen zu ihren Nachbargemeinden" (p. 131); Dr. Dirk Cattepoel: "Die Neuwieder Mennonitengemeinde" (p. 144); D. Christian Neff: "Die Beziehungen zwischen der Krefelder und den Pfälzer Mennonitengemeinden" (p. 154); *Professor Dr. Karl Rembert: "Zur Geschichte der Auswanderung Krefelder Mennoniten nach Nord-Amerika" (p. 161).

The third volume, made possible by a subsidy from the Heubuden Mennonite Church near Marienburg, contains two most valuable contributions of quite different character, both relating to the Mennonites of the Danzig area. The first, a doctoral dissertation by Horst Penner, tells the story of the original settlement of the Dutch Mennonites in the Vistula Delta between Danzig andMarienburg in the sixteenth century, using the original sources. The second is chiefly an exhaustive list of Mennonite family names appearing in this area before 1800, with variant spellings and documentation for first appearance. Two appendices are added, a genealogy of the Driedger family, and an autobiography of David Mandtler of Fürstenwerder near Danzig (1757-1837). Both Penner and Reimer contributions are works of first-rate scholarship. An excellent color map of the Dutch settlements in the Delta adds to their value.—*Harold S. Bender.*

Mitteilungen des Sippenverbandes der Danziger Mennoniten-Familien Epp-Kauenhowen-Zimmermann Herausgeber: Dr. Kurt Kauenhowen (Göttingen, 1935-1944)

One of the striking developments in Germany under Hitler was the great growth in interest in family history and genealogical research. This interest naturally had a strong response among the Mennonites because in Germany as well as elsewhere the Mennonites have a strong sense of family loyalty, and Mennonites are members of the church largely because of their family ancestry. Dr. Kurt Kauenhowen, a professor in the gymnasium in Göttingen, himself not a member of the church, took the lead in promoting the study of the history of certain Danzig Mennonite families, of which he is a descendant. Enlisting the support of others, he inaugurated in 1935, first in mimeographed form (two numbers) and then beginning in February, 1936, in printed form, a rather remarkable bimonthly journal which contains much material of real value in the study of the Mennonites of the Danzig area and their descendants in Russia and North America. Each bimonthly issue of normally 32 pages, though predominantly containing information about the Epp, Kauenhowen, and Zimmerman families in the past and the present, frequently included information concerning related families. An enormous amount of genealogical information was thus published in the nine years during which the journal was maintained. In 1941 the scope of the publication was enlarged to include all Danzig Mennonite families under the new title, *Mitteilungen des Sippenverbandes Danziger Mennoniten-Familien.* The first 1943 number was the last to be issued in regular format, but three further numbers appeared in December, 1943 (eight pages), March, 1944 (twelve pages), and June, 1944 (sixteen pages) under the title, *Nachrichtenblatt des Sippenverbandes Danziger Mennoniten-Familien.* A complete file except for the two 1935 mimeographed numbers and Number 3 of 1936, is in the Goshen College Library.

If this publication contained only genealogical information, it would require little further comment. However, every number with few exceptions carried valuable nongenealogical material, besides a large number of pic-

tures of individuals and family groups and other illustrations, including maps and charts. A book review department presented thorough reviews of all publications relating to Prussian-Russian Mennonite history. Numerous brief notes of one or two pages and occasionally longer were published on items of cultural and religious history of the Mennonites of northern and eastern Germany and Russia. A valuable service was rendered by reprinting significant extracts out of old books of travel and reminiscences bearing on the Mennonites. Extensive lists of names of immigrants from the Danzig area to Russia, based on the archives, were published. A few outstanding scholarly articles should also be mentioned, such as: Franz Harder, "Die Auswanderung aus der Danziger Mennoniten-gemeinde nach Russland" (1937, 98-122, and 184-197); Kurt Kauenhowen, "Daniel Chodowiecki und die Danziger Mennoniten" (1942, 183-192); "Zur Gründung der Ansiedlungen Westpreussischer Mennoniten 'Am Trakt' im Wolgagebiet, Peterburger Briefe und Aktenstücke aus dem Jahre 1851" unter Mitwirkung von Gustav Reimer, Bernhard Harder and Anna Andres, mitgeteilt von Dr. Kurt Kauenhowen (1942, 55-68); "Aus dem Leben Westpreussischer Mennoniten in den Ansiedlungen 'Am Trakt' im Wolgagebiet. Brief von Bernhard Epp, Hahnsau, aus den Jahren 1854-1892" unter Mitwirkung von Bernhard Harder, B. H. Unruh, und Kurt Kauenhowen, mitgeteilt von Gustav Reimer (1942, 86-96, and 137-148); "Die Umsiedlung der Volksdeutschen aus Dnjepropetrowsk in September 1943" (Dec., 1943, 3-5). Several interesting reports of conditions among the Mennonite colonies in the Ukraine in 1942 were contributed by Mennonite soldiers in the German army of occupation.

All in all the *Mitteilungen* is a rather remarkable publication with contributions for the most part by scholars. In addition to Dr. Kauenhowen, the editor, who was the heaviest contributor, Franz Harder and Fritz van Bergen contributed most heavily, in addition to Dr. Werner Zimmermann and the young Mennonite scholar, Dr. Herbert Wiebe. The publication was the organ of the Association of the Mennonite Families Epp, Kauenhowen, and Zimmermann, and reported regularly the annual meetings of this organization and its activities. As such it gives a very helpful insight into the extensive activities of genealogical interest groups such as this one during the Nazi period, and reminds us of the similar interest in Mennonite family history and genealogy in America. American Mennonites seem to have been far ahead of the German Mennonites in this field, but have seldom produced scholarly publications of the character of the one edited by Dr. Kauenhowen. It is encouraging to learn that a permanent interest in family history remains among the Mennonites in Germany, even after the Hitler regime has long since passed away. A section for family history in the Mennonite Historical Society of Germany was established last year under the direction of Dr. Kauenhowen. We wish this venture the best of success and hope to see further valuable publications from the pen of Dr. Kauenhowen and his associates.—*Harold S. Bender.*

Die Mennonitische Lehrerzeitung

A Mennonite teachers' convention was held in Winnipeg on March 31 and April 1, 1948. The waves of enthusiasm went high among the teachers present. It was decided, among other things, to establish a special paper which would serve the particular needs of Mennonite teachers. Victor Peters, a young enthusiastic teacher and principal of the Horndean High School in Manitoba, accepted the responsibility to put this "newborn babe," i.e., the *Mennonite Teachers' Magazine,* on its feet. It was inaugurated as

a quarterly, and more a popular than a scholarly journal. In 1948 three issues were published, July, October, and December, and three in 1949, March, June, and December, the numbers varying in size from twenty to thirty-six pages, large format. The paper is published at Horndean, Manitoba, with a subscription price of $2.00 yearly.

Victor Peters is an admirer of German literature and German culture at large, consequently the German language dominates in this paper. Articles in English, however, are also accepted. This arrangement satisfies the wishes of a large part of the Western Canadian Mennonite teachers, particularly those of Manitoba. The paper is especially attractive because of its originality and youthfulness. The illustrations on the cover are drawn by Mennonite artists. Peters has many acquaintances among well-educated men outside of Mennonite circles who occasionally supply interesting articles relating to our people.

Anyone who wishes to become acquainted with the inner life of the Western Canadian Mennonite schools will find the articles in the *Lehrerzeitung* of much value. A few examples are "Die Möglichkeiten der Bibelschule," by H. H. Redekopp, B.A., Lic. Th., in the July issue of 1948; "Unsere Schulen," by H. B. Thiessen in the October issue of 1948; and "The Mennonite School Question," by Andrew Willows in October and December, 1948, and March, 1949.

Almost every issue has descriptions or biographies of important present-day personalities. These sketches should prove a great help to writers of history of a later day. Among them are (July, 1948) sketches of Gerhard H. Peters, the well-known teacher, of A. H. Unruh (December, 1948), Benj. Ewert (June, 1949), and Jacob H. Janzen (December, 1949).—*John G. Rempel.*

Mennonitische Volkswarte

Mennonitische Volkswarte. Herausgeben und geleitet von A. B. Dyck. Warte-Verlag, Steinbach, Manitoba, Canada. 1935, 12 issues, 464 pp., Anhang 5 pp., 4 pp., 6 pp. 1936, 12 issues, 414 pp., Anhang 23 pp. 1937, 4 issues, 265 pp. 1938, 11 issues, 416 pp., Anhang 12 pp. *Warte—Jahrbuch.* Herausgegeben von Arnold Dyck, Steinbach, Manitoba, Canada. 1. Jahrgang, 1943, 126 pp. 2. Jahrgang, 122 pp.

The *Mennonitische Volkswarte* was an interesting experiment in the sense that the publication was placed on the ground of stressing the life and culture of the Mennonites as a German people. The editor supported the view that the religious-spiritual life could not be the factor which would act as a common tie among all Mennonites. The various shades of belief among Mennonite denominations might have justified that standpoint. On the other hand, the Mennonite past in Russia, where they actually did form a segregated national unit, appeared to him in a highly idealistic light. The conditions on the North American continent do not favor the development of such a unit. Consequently, the prospects for the paper were not promising. When the *Mennonitische Volkswarte* terminated its publication at the end of 1938, the editor, to whom the paper had cost much concern and sacrifice, asked the readers that they might lend those papers a kind thought in their remembrances. This request, no doubt, has met willing ears everywhere.

There are still many Mennonite homes where the German language dominates. We refer to Canada in particular, and even to a larger degree to South America. In the twenties of this century twenty thousand Mennonites, in round figures, immigrated to Canada from Russia. When here, they showed a surprising amount of poetic and prosaic talents. This review

does not attempt to deal with those efforts, but many of those writings were published in the *Volkswarte.*

Thus the *Volkswarte* contains poems, pictures, conversations overheard unexpectedly, serious and humorous incidents, a variegated but interesting medley, everything written by Mennonite poets and authors. The fact that the *Volkswarte* brought many sketches of the life of Mennonites in the different parts of the world adds much to the interest and value of the paper. Last, but not least, are the expressions in art by Mennonite artists. It should be mentioned here that the editor himself is an artist who has developed and perfected his talent in Germany.

It is natural that the *Volkswarte* should contain many items of interest for the writer of history. The one division bearing the topic, "Mennonites Over All the World," which was continued throughout all the publications, alone bears witness that the *Volkswarte* called forth many reminiscences in many a Mennonite and caused him to write these down. They form valuable historical material. One should mention: "Pioneer Years in the Mennonite Settlement in Manitoba" (April and May, 1935). Several of the Russian-Mennonites, who had served in the Medical Corps in Russia during the First World War, wrote of their experiences: P. Heese, "The Sinking of the Hospital Ship, Portugal" in the first issue; "Reminiscences of the Years 1914-1918 by J. R." (March, April, May, 1936). It is of special value that the *Volkswarte* has printed the minutes of the General Mennonite Congress which took place in Orloff, Russia, in 1917 (the first year of the revolution). (See issues February, March, April, May, June, and July, 1938.)

Warte-Jahrbuch. 1943 and 1944. When, with the close of the year 1938, the *Mennonitische Volkswarte* was discontinued, the editor rested for a while, that is, as far as the publication of a Mennonite paper was concerned. In the course of the years much material was collected which was waiting for an outlet of expression. Hence, in the year 1943 A. B. Dyck published the first *Warte-Jahrbuch.* It is crowded with historical material from beginning to end. Fiction and literature occupy only a very small part in the book.

Without foreword or introduction the editor starts out with statistics: total population of the world, population of Canada, the religious denominations of Canada, and—last, but not least—the number of Mennonites. That leads to the question, "How many Mennonites are there in the world?"

From the statistics the editor passes on to the schools of the Mennonites in Canada. Now the various schools pass by our inner eye: the two kindergarten schools of Steinbach and North Kildonan, the Mennonite high schools of Gretna and Rosthern, and about twenty Mennonite Bible schools in Canada. After that we see the educational institutes of the United States: Bethel College, Tabor College, Goshen College, and others. Next in order are the hospitals: Concordia Hospital in Winnipeg, the Coaldale (Alberta) Mennonite Hospital, our prospective Mental Hospital (which has, as yet, not materialized in Canada), and the Invalid Home in Steinbach. We are also introduced to the Girls' Homes in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, and Vancouver, British Columbia. A fine sketch of the life of Johann Cornies follows. After that we read a review of "Canadian-Russian-Mennonite literary efforts" by the late Jacob H. Janzen.

What is the reason for rendering this account in so much detail? Let it be known that we are here concerned with articles of an original character, written by men of ability and trustworthiness. Anyone who is studying the history of the Canadian Mennonites will gladly get hold of just such material as has been mentioned.

The same is true of the *Warte-Jahrbuch,* 1944. Again the Mennonite schools of Canada find due recognition. In addition to those mentioned above, the Bible College of the M.B. Church is described in particular. The origin and development of the Invalid Home on the Youth Farm near Rosthern is treated in considerable detail. To many a historian the beginning of the "Echo-Verlag" will be of interest. This publishing enterprise has edited and published several valuable historical books, which are, with one exception, original publications.

The second volume of the *Warte-Jahrbuch* contains, following the example of the *Mennonitische Volkswarte,* valuable sketches of the life and work of Mennonites all over the world, of the past and of the present.

All issues of the *Mennonitische Volkswarte* and *Warte-Jahrbuch* may be obtained from the publisher: A. B. Dyck, Steinbach, Manitoba, Canada.

—*John G. Rempel.*

Proceedings of the Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems

On December 31, 1941, a group of Mennonite scholars who were studying in Chicago called a meeting on Mennonite Sociological Problems. The meeting was held in Chicago during the Christmas holidays at a time when it could coincide with the annual meeting of the Mennonite Central Committee and of the American Historical Association. It was felt that this would enable a number of Mennonite leaders to be present. The Conference was so well accepted by those in attendance that it was decided to have another meeting in the summer of 1942 with a view to the possibility of making such a conference an annual event. The name for the conference was changed from Conference on Mennonite Sociology to Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems. It was felt that the term "cultural" would permit the inclusion of more varied fields of interest than the term "sociological" had implied.

The first annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems was held at Winona Lake, Indiana, on August 7 and 8, 1942. This date was selected because President Ernest E. Miller of Goshen College had called a conference for administrators of Mennonite colleges at the same place at this time. The primary purpose of the conference for administrators of Mennonite colleges was to consider the common problems faced by Mennonite colleges during the second world war. The success of this conference led those present to believe that it would be desirable to have annual meetings of the administrators of Mennonite colleges held concurrently with the annual meetings of the Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems. The second Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems was held at Goshen, Indiana, in 1943, the third at North Newton, Kansas, in 1944, the fourth at Bluffton, Ohio, in 1945, the fifth at Freeman, South Dakota, in 1946, the sixth at Goshen, Indiana, in 1947 and the seventh at Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas, in 1949. The administrators of Mennonite colleges met annually with the Cultural Conference except for the North Newton meeting in 1944. In 1945 the name of the organization of administrators of Mennonite colleges was changed to the Council of Mennonite and Affiliated Colleges.

The conferences have been planned by a special committee appointed by the Council of Mennonite and Affiliated Colleges. The planning committee includes members from each of the Mennonite and Brethren in Christ colleges. The Council of Mennonite and Affiliated Colleges has also subsidized the publication of the Proceeedings. The annual conferences have provided an opportunity for an intellectual and cultural exchange between members of various Mennonite groups.

A large number of significant papers have been presented at the various meetings of the Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems. A few of these papers have not been printed in the Proceedings. Of those which have been printed in the Proceedings the following is a list of subjects which would be of particular interest to readers of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review:*

Preliminary Conference on Mennonite Sociology: 1941

Four of the papers read at this conference were published in the July, 1942, REVIEW. These were

"Secularization Among the Mennonites of Elkhart County, Indiana" 30 pp. —Karl Baehr

"The Sociological and Economic Significance of the Mennonites as a Culture Group in History" 6 pp. —Ernst Correll

"Rural Life Problems and the Mennonites" 7 pp. —Melvin Gingerich

"Mennonite Community Life in Russia" 4 pp. —Cornelius Krahn

Proceedings of the First Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems: 1942

"The Anabaptist Genius and Its Influence on Mennonites Today" 6 pp. —Robert Friedmann

"A Methodology for Studying the Local Community" 8 pp. —J. Winfield Fretz

"The Secularization Process Among Mennonites" 6 pp.—Karl Baehr

"Mennonite Service Projects in Time of War and Peace" 8 pp. —Don E. Smucker

"Environmental Factors Influencing Mennonites" 14 pp. —Robert Kreider

Proceedings of the Second Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems: 1943

"The Curricula of Mennonite Colleges" 11 pp. —Peter S. Goertz

"The Influence of Public Schools on Mennonite Ideals and Its Implications for the Future" 23 pp. —Don E. Smucker

"Mennonites and Soil Conservation" 6 pp. —A. D. Stoesz

"Health Conditions and Practices Among the Mennonites" 5 pp. —H. Clair Amstutz

"Environmental Factors Influencing Mennonites" 13 pp. —S. Floyd Pannabecker

"What Is Mennonitism?" 7 pp. —Edward Yoder

"The Philosophical Aspects of Mennonitism" 14 pp. —Ralph C. Kauffman

Proceedings of the Third Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems: 1944

"Development of Music in the Mennonite Church" 12 pp. —Walter H. Hohmann

"Developments in Mennonite Preaching" 18 pp. —Roy Umble

"The History of Nonconformity in the Mennonite Church" 12 pp. —John C. Wenger

"Helping Mennonite Youth Get a Vocational Start" 18 pp. —J. Winfield Fretz

"The Attitude of the (Old) Mennonite Church Toward Labor Unions" 9 pp.—Ivan Lind

"Contributions of the Russian Mennonites to the Culture of Kansas" 10 pp.—Menno S. Harder

Proceedings of the Fourth Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems: 1945

"The Significance of the Educational Experiences of C.P.S. Men" 16 pp.—Roy Umble

"Co-operative Testing Program of Mennonite Colleges and Civilian Public Service" 8 pp. —Paul Bender
"The Mennonite View of the Relation of Church and State" 18 pp. —Erland Waltner
"An Evaluation of Methods of Transmitting Mennonite Ideals" 12 pp. —Paul Shelly
"A Presentation and Evaluation of M.C.C. Draft Status Census" 24 pp. —Howard Charles
"The Mennonite Theme in Contemporary American Fiction" 28 pp. —Elizabeth Horsch Bender
"Mennonite Ideals and Art" 12 pp. —John P. Klassen
"The Use of Leisure Time in Mennonite Communities" 16 pp. —Melvin Gingerich

Proceedings of the Fifth Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems: 1946
"The Historical Background of the Hutterite Colonies—1528-1946" 20 pp.—J. M. Hofer
"The Present Day Social Customs and Cultural Patterns of the Hutterites in North Ameirca" 16 pp. —Marie Waldner

Proceedings of the Sixth Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems: 1947
"The Voluntary Service Program" 10 pp. —Elmer Ediger
"A Study in Mennonite Family Trends in Elkhart County, Indiana" 6 pp.—Howard Good
"The Life Cycle of Mennonite Families in Marion County, Kansas" 11 pp.—I. G. Neufeld
"Methods of Acquiring Home Ownership" 13 pp. —Howard Raid

Proceedings of the Seventh Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems: 1949
"Mennonite Parochial Schools—Why Established and What They Have Achieved" 12 pp. —Silas Hertzler
"The Growth and Use of Tobacco Among Mennonites" 14 pp. —J. Winfield Fretz
"Problems of a Conscientious Objector in the Legal Practice" 12 pp. —Elvin Souder
"Factors Explaining the Disintegration of Mennonite Communities" 16 pp. —John Umble
"Religious and Cultural Background of the Mennonite Brethren" 12 pp. —John H. Lohrentz
"Missionary Interests Among the Mennonite Brethren" 9 pp. —G. W. Peters

There was no meeting in 1948 because of the meeting of the Mennonite World Conference at Goshen, Indiana, and North Newton, Kansas, in that year. The sponsoring committee has planned that the conference be a biennial one in the future. For this reason no conference is planned for the summer of 1950.

A perusal of these papers will indicate that for the most part they were not heavily documented. Furthermore, the writer of the paper always had to be conscious of the fact that although many of the people who would hear the paper read were people with definitely scholarly interests, there would also be a sizable number of persons in attendance who would prefer to have a more popular type of presentation. On the other hand, the conferences have provided a splendid opportunity for young Mennonite scholars to report on important research undertaken for advanced degrees in various American universities. At least seven of the papers listed above were the

results of this type of research. Furthermore, by assigning some of the papers nearly a year in advance and by suggesting to participants that their papers might be published, the Conference committee was able to promote significant research in Mennonite cultural problems.

Printed copies of the 1942 Proceedings are no longer available and the supply of copies of the 1944 Proceedings is almost exhausted. Copies of the other Proceedings are still available from the Executive Secretary of the Conference, Dr. J. Winfield Fretz, Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas.

—Carl Kreider.

Mennonite Life

Mennonite Life, an illustrated quarterly published under the auspices of Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, began its fifth year in January, 1950. Although a history and an evaluation of this publication appeared in the January, 1949, REVIEW, only a few of the topics treated in the periodical were mentioned. The chief articles which have appeared in *Mennonite Life* are, therefore, listed below.

REGIONAL ARTICLES

"The Renaissance of a Rural Community" (Altona, Manitoba), J. Winfield Fretz, I:1 Jan 1946, 4 pp.; "Mennonites in Paraguay; In 1939—In 1945," H. A. Fast, I:1 Jan 1946, 5 pp.; "Destruction and Reconstruction of Mennonite Churches in Holland," S. H. N. Gortner, I:1 Jan 1946, 5 pp.; "Pioneering in British Columbia," B. B. Wiens, I:2 J1 1946, 4 pp.; "Highlights and Sidelights of the Mennonites in Beatrice [Nebraska]," W. C. Andreas, I:2 J1 1946, 4 pp.; "Experiences of Dutch Mennonites During the World War," N. van der Zijpp, I:2 J1 1946, 4 pp.; "The Cradle of the Mennonite Church," John C. Wenger, II:1 Jan 1947, 2 pp.; "Impressions of Mennonites in South Germany," Robert Kreider, II:1 Jan 1947, 5 pp.; "Master Farmers of Lancaster County," Fred Koop, II:1 Jan 1947, 7 pp.; "A Century in Iowa," Melvin Gingerich, II:1 Jan 1947, 4 pp.; "Mennonites in Brazil," Peter Klassen, II:1 Jan 1947, 8 pp.; "Mennonites of the Ukraine Under Stalin and Hitler," Gerhard Fast, II:2 Apr 1947, 4 pp.; "Mennonites in Mexico," J. Winfield Fretz, II:2 Apr 1947, 4 pp.; "Mennonite Life in Mexico," Walter Schmiedhaus, II:2 Apr 1947, 10 pp.; "Agriculture Among the Mennonites of Mexico," A. D. Stoesz, II:2 Apr 1947, 3 pp.; "Medical Service Under Pioneer Conditions," John R. Schmidt, II:3 J1 1947, 4 pp.; "The Economic Life of the Berne Community," Leland C. Lehman, II:3 J1 1947, 3 pp.; "The Cradle of Germantown—Krefeld," Dirk Cattepoel, II:3 J1 1947, 3 pp.; "With Prussian Mennonites in Denmark," Walter Gering, II:4 Oct 1947, 3 pp.; "A Mennonite Village in Kansas," Alberta Pantle, II:4 Oct 1947, 3 pp.; "Pioneering in the Land of the Midnight Sun," John A. Hostetler, III:2 Apr 1948, 5 pp.; "Four Centuries of Prussian Mennonites," Bruno Ewert, III:2 Apr 1948, 8 pp.; "Dutch Mennonites Unite During Crisis," Piet van der Menlen, III: 3 J1, 1948, 3 pp.; "A Thrilling Story from an Old Diary," Walter Adrian, III:3 J1 1948, 5 pp.; "From Russia to Canada—Twenty-Five Years Ago," D. D. Rempel, III:3 J1 1948, 3 pp.; "Pioneering in Paraguay," V:1 Jan 1950, 34 pp.; "Hidden Church—Pingjum," Sibold S. Smeding, V:1 Jan 1950, 3 pp.; "Co-operative Transforms Rural Economy," D. Paul Miller, IV:2 Apr 1949, 3 pp.; "Mennonite Contributions to Canada's Middle West," E. K. Francis, IV:2 Apr 1949, 4 pp.; "The Twenty-Three Mile Furrow," Melvin Gingerich, IV:3 J1 1949, 2 pp.; "The Danzig Mennonite Church Buildings Today," Wilson Hunsberger, IV:3 J1 1949, 3 pp.; "Von Danzig nach

Uruguay," Gustav E. Reimer, IV:3 Jl 1949, 2 pp.; "Agriculture of Manitoba Mennonites," Don Edward Totten, IV:3 Jl 1949, 4 pp.; "Sunflower Rebuilds Community," J. J. Siemens, IV:3 Jl 1949, 4 pp.; "Present Mennonite Immigration to Canada," J. J. Thiessen, IV:3 Jl 1949, 4 pp.; "Alexanderwohl Villages," IV:4 Oct 1949, 5 pp.; "New Mennonite Settlement in Mexico," Walter Schmiedehaus, IV:4 Oct 1949, 3 pp.; "Mint Farming in Northern Indiana," Melvin Gingerich, IV:4 Oct 1949, 2 pp.

BIOGRAPHICAL ARTICLES

"I Find My Life Work," C. Henry Smith, I:1 Jan 1946, 5 pp.; "My Father," M. S. Harder, I:2 Jl 1946, 5 pp.; "Jacob Gross—A Mennonite Businessman," J. D. Unruh, II:1 Jan 1947, 3 pp.; "Peter Jansen—Pioneer, Leader, and Philanthropist," Cornelius J. Claassen, II:4 Oct 1947, 3 pp.; "The Poet Gerhard Loewen," Arnold Dyck, III:1 Jan 1948, 2 pp.; "A Pioneer Educator, N. E. Byers," C. Henry Smith, III:1 Jan 1948, 3 pp.; "Johann Cornies—A Great Pioneer," Walter Quiring, III:3 Jl 1948, 5 pp.; "A Pioneer Educator, Johann Cornies," M. S. Harder, III:4 Oct 1948, 3 pp.; "My Recollections of P. M. Friesen," F. C. Thiessen, III:4 Oct 1948, 3 pp.; "Heinrich H. Ewert—Educator of Kansas and Manitoba," P. J. Schaeffer, III:4 Oct 1948, 6 pp.; "Peter R. Schroeder—Pastor and Conference Worker," Celeste Schroeder Dehnert, IV:3 Jl 1949, 4 pp.; "John H. Harms—Pioneer Mennonite Doctor," E. M. Harms, IV:4 Oct 1949, 3 pp.

ARTICLES ON MENNONITE CULTURE

"The Literature of the Russo-Canadian Mennonites," J. H. Janzen, I:1 Jan 1946, 4 pp.; "Romance of Low German," J. John Friesen, II:2 Apr 1947, 2 pp.; "Mennonites in Fiction—Gnadenau," G. Baerg, II:4 Oct 1947, 3 pp.; "Mennonite Principles on Europe's Stage and Pulpit," Hermann Epp, III:1 Jan 1948, 2 pp.; "Our Heritage of Music in Manitoba," Victor and Elisabeth Peters, III:2 Apr 1948, 4 pp.; "The Danzig Choral Buch," Vernon Neufeld, III:2 Apr 1948, 1 p.; "Vachel Lindsay Among the Mennonites," Paul Erb, III:2 Apr 1948, 3 pp.: "The Portraits of Menno Simons," Sibold S. Smeding, III:3 Jl 1948, 4 pp.; "Cultural Achievements of the Chortitza Mennonites," Walter Kuhn, III:3 Jl 1948, 4 pp.; "The Ethnic Origin of the Mennonites from Russia," Cornelius Krahn, III:3 Jl 1948, 3 pp.; "Mennonite Artists—Danzig and Koenigsberg," Kurt Kananhaven, IV:3 Jl 1949, 8 pp.; "Glimpses into the Past," Charles Kauffman, IV:4 Oct 1949, 7 pp.; "The Mennonite Stove," J. D. Butler, IV:4 Oct 1949, 2 pp.; "Revival of Parochial Elementary Education," Silas Hertzler, IV:4 Oct 1949, 2 pp.

MENNONITE INSTITUTIONS

"Mennonite Education in the Gran Chaco," Waldo Hiebert, II:4 Oct 1947, 5 pp.; "A Pennsylvania Mennonite Church—West Swamp," J. Herbert Fretz, II:4 Oct 1947, 5 pp.; "A Century of Mennonite Missions," A. Mulder, III:1 Jan 1948, 4 pp.; "Dutch Mennonite Missions During the War," III:1 Jan 1948, 4 pp.; "The Deaconess and Her Ministry," III:1 Jan 1948, 8 pp.; "Beginnings of Secondary Education in Kansas," P. J. Wedel, III:4 Oct 1948, 4 pp.; "A College Church After Fifty Years," C. E. Krehbiel, III:4 Oct 1948, 3 pp.; "Mission Work in Colombia," Ruth Birckholtz-Bestvader, IV:2 Apr 1949, 4 pp.; "Bruderthal—Seventy-Five Years Ago," Ray Funk, IV:3 Jl 1949, 2 pp.; "Hoffnungsau in Kansas," A. J. Dyck, IV:4 Oct 1949, 3 pp.

Denominational and Conference Articles

"Christian Love in Action—The Hutterites," Robert Friedmann, I:2 Jl 1946, 6 pp.; "John H. Oberholtzer and His Time," S. F. Pannabecker, II:3 Jl 1947, 4 pp.; "The General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America," Ed. G. Kaufman, II:3 Jl 1947, 8 pp.; "Mennonite World Conferences," Cornelius Krahn, III:3 Jl 1948, 4 pp.; "The All-Mennonite Convention," N. E. Byers, III:3 Jl 1948, 2 pp.; "Mennonite World Conference Impressions," IV:2 Apr 1949, 9 pp.; "From Russia to Mexico—The Story of the Kleine Gemeinde," Peter J. B. Reimer, IV:4 Oct 1949, 5 pp.

Mennonite Customs, Practices, and Doctrines

"The Alexanderwohl 'Schnurbuch,'" Melvin Gingerich, I:1 Jan 1946, 3 pp.; "What Have We Learned from Civilian Public Service?" Albert Gaeddert, 1:2 Jl 1946, 5 pp.; "Mental Hospital Experience of Civilian Public Service," Grant M. Stoltzfus, II:2 Apr 1947, 4 pp.; "The Canadian Conscientious Objector," J. W. Nickel, III:1 Jan 1948, 5 pp.; "Amish Problems at Diener-Versammlungen," John A. Hostetler, IV:4 Oct 1949, 5 pp. "A Christian Witness in War and Peace," C. C. Regier, IV:1 Jan 1949, 4 pp.—*Melvin Gingerich.*

The Mennonite Community

The Mennonite Community, a monthly illustrated magazine published by the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, completed its third volume with its December, 1949, number. In January, 1949, the Review (pp. 60, 61) presented a history and description of this periodical, although only a few of its articles were mentioned. Its chief contribution to Mennonite history has been its articles on particular Mennonite communities and on Mennonite customs, practices, and ideals. Below are listed the major articles of this type appearing in the first three volumes.

"A Vision and Its Realization," Paul Erb, I:1 Jan 1947 (a history of the background of the periodical); "The Role of Mennonites in Agriculture," Walter M. Kollmorgen, I:1 Jan 1947; "Transforming a Wilderness into a Thriving Community," Howard Kauffman, I:2 Mar 1947 (a discussion of the Mennonite community in Oscoda Co., Mich.); "What About Our Health Practices," H. Clair Amstutz, I:2 Mar 1947; "The Other Six Days—Occupations Among the Mennonites of Bucks and Montgomery Counties in Pennsylvania," John Lapp, I:4 Jl 1947; "A Community Builds for Fifty Years," I:5 Sept 1947 (a history of the Denbigh, Va., Mennonite colony); "A Co-operative in the Mad River Valley," Joseph S. Plank, I:6 Nov 1947; "Learning to Know Our Soil—A Story of the Versailles, Missouri, Community," Leroy Gingerich, II:1 Jan 1948; "Building a Church in a New Area," Glen and Lois Yoder, II:4 Apr 1948 (Culp, Arkansas, community); "Dairying in Elkhart County, Indiana," Russell J. Wenger, II:5 May 1948; "The Crystal Springs, Kansas, Community," Gideon G. Yoder, II:6 June 1948; "The Birth of a Community," H. Clair Amstutz, II:7 Jl 1948 (La Plata, Puerto Rico, Mennonite community); "Strengthening the Social Life of Our Communities," John C. Wenger, II:7 Aug 1948; "Present-Day Needs for Mutual Aid," J. Winfield Fretz, II:7 Aug 1948; "The Kishacoquillas Valley," J. W. Yoder, II:7 Aug 1948; "Where the Salt Still Hath Its Savor," Arthur D. Graeff, II:9 Sept 1948 (Waterloo Co., Ont.); "The Significance of the Mennonite World Conference," Guy F. Hershberger, II:9 Sept 1948; "The Turkey Industry at Wellman [Iowa]," Harry J. Wenger, II:11 Nov 1948; "The Howard-Miami Community

[Ohio]," Elaine Sommers, II:12 Dec 1948; "The Community at Gulfport, Mississippi," J. Winfield Fretz, III:1 Jan 1949; "The Zion Community at Hubbard, Oregon," Emma Sommers, III:2 Feb 1949; "A Way of Life That Has Stood the Test," Paul Peachey, III:3 Mar 1949 (Mennonites in the Palatinate); "The Desert Shall Blossom," Almeta Hilty Good, III:4 Apr 1949 (Indian Cove, Idaho, Mennonite settlement); "The Settlement in the Peace River Country," John Andrew Hostetler, III:5 May 1949; "Maintaining the Family Farm in an Industrial Age," Leo H. Hostetler, III:6 June 1949 (observations on Harper, Kans., community); "A Community Develops Its Own Woodcraft Industry [Chief, Mich.]," J. Winfield Fretz, III:7 Jl 1949; "The Growth of a Mennonite Community at Protection, Kansas," Clayton Beyler, III:8 Aug 1949; "A New Day in the Highlands," Linden M. Wenger, III:9 Sept 1949 (Mennonite churches in the Virginia highlands); "The Ephrata Martyrs' Mirror Past and Present," Daniel R. Heatwole, III:10 Oct 1949; "The Poultry Industry of Elkhart County [Indiana]," Ernest G. Lehman, III:11 Nov 1949; "Mennonites and Materialism," Emma Sommers, III:11 Nov 1949; "The Braeside Home," C. F. Derstine, III:12 Dec 1949 (Mennonite old people's home in Ontario); "Volendam: A Pioneer Mennonite Settlement [Paraguay]," William T. Snyder, III:12 Dec 1949.—*Melvin Gingerich.*

Mennonite Historical Bulletin

The *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* is published by the Historical Committee of the Mennonite General Conference, with its publication office at Scottdale, Pennsylvania. The first number appeared in April, 1940. During the first two years it was published semiannually, in April and October, but beginning with March, 1942, it appeared as a quarterly, in March, June, September, and December. Since January, 1947, the four yearly numbers have carried the dates of January, April, July, and November.

Each number from the beginning of the periodical has been a three-column, four-page, eight-by-eleven-inch paper. Nearly every number has contained one or more illustrations, generally cuts of Mennonite churches or leaders. The purpose of the *Bulletin* has been to present short popular historical articles which will make an appeal to the average reader, thus creating an interest in the history of the Mennonite Church. At the same time, the *Bulletin* furnishes an opportunity for young and amateur historians to prepare articles for publication. More than sixty writers have contributed articles to the *Bulletin* during its first ten years. Each number has carried an average of three or four main articles. The largest total of articles contributed by one writer was twenty-four, the number written by John C. Wenger. Melvin Gingerich ranked second with twelve articles, while Ira D. Landis and Edward Yoder each had contributed six articles.

A cumulative author and subject index covering the first ten volumes reveals the fact that a large number of topics have been treated in the *Bulletin.* There have been seventeen articles dealing with the Amish Mennonites, four on confessions of faith, five on Mennonite education, five on historical events and personages in the Franconia conference district, five on Mennonite historiography, six on hymns, six on the Mennonites in Indiana, six on the Mennonites in Iowa, seven on the Mennonites in Kansas, five on those in the Lancaster Conference, five on those in Ohio, five on ordinations, eleven on the Swiss Brethren and the Mennonites in Switzerland, and four on the Virginia Mennonites, as well as many articles on a large variety of other topics.

Of special interest have been the biographies of Mennonite leaders. The following have appeared: Daniel Brenneman, IX:3 Jl 1948; Jacob N. Brubaker, II:1 Apr 1941; John D. Brunk, VII:1 Mar 1946; John S. Coffman, IV:1 Mar 1943; Tillman M. Erb, X:3 Jl 1949; Christian David Esch, VIII:3 Jl 1947; Hans Hess, III:2 Jl 1942; J. S. Horner, VI:2 Jl 1945; John Horsch, II:2 Oct 1941; Daniel J. Johns, III:3 Sept 1942; Daniel Kauffman, V:1 Mar 1944; John Mellinger Kreider, VII:2 Jl 1946; Jacob B. Mensch, VIII:4 Oct 1947; John Derstine Souder, IV:1 Mar 1943; Menno S. Steiner, III:1 Mar 1942; Solomon B. Wenger, VII:4 Dec 1946; Christian Yoder, X:4 Oct 1949; Edward Yoder, VI:2 Jl 1945; and Henry Yother, V:2 Jl 1944.

Histories of the following Mennonite congregations have appeared in the *Bulletin:* Amish in Audrain Co., Mo., VII:2 Jl 1946; Bethel congregation, Mountain Lake, Minn., VII:2 Jl 1945; Catlin congregation, Peabody, Kans., VI:4 Dec 1944; Clinton Frame congregation, Goshen, Ind., III:3 Sept 1942; Clinton Brick congregation, Goshen, Ind., VI:1 Mar 1945, VI:2 Jl 1945; Deep Run congregation, Pa., VIII:3 Jl 1947; Forks congregation, Middlebury, Ind., IV:3 Sept 1943, IV:4 Dec 1943; Fort Wayne, Ind., mission, VIII:1 Jan 1947; the Amish in Gosper Co., Nebr., X:4 Oct 1949; Mt. Pisgah congregation, Cherry Box, Mo., VII:2 Jl 1946; Nolds, Ohio, congregation, VIII:2 Apr 1947; and Olive congregation, Elkhart, Ind., IX:2 Apr 1948.

During the ten years of the *Bulletin* thirty-nine books by or about Mennonites were reviewed in its columns. At irregular intervals a section entitled "News and Notes" appeared. In it were references to articles and activities relating to Mennonite history and research. The first two volumes of the *Bulletin* were edited by John C. Wenger. Beginning with Volume III, Edward Yoder assisted Wenger as coeditor. Following Yoder's death in 1945, Melvin Gingerich was named coeditor to fill the position formerly held by Yoder. Beginning with the September, 1945, issue, Wenger and Gingerich served as coeditors, which positions they were holding at the time of this writing (March, 1950).—*Melvin Gingerich.*

"FAITH OF OUR FATHERS," A SERIES OF HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN THE *Mennonite Weekly Review* (Newton, Kansas) BY CORNELIUS KRAHN

Beginning with the number of April 22, 1943, the *Mennonite Weekly Review,* a Mennonite newspaper widely read in many Mennonite branches, edited by Menno Schrag, inaugurated a series of monthly brief (1,000 word) sketches from Mennonite history by Cornelius Krahn, then professor at Tabor College (Hillsboro, Kansas), but since 1945 on the staff of Bethel College (North Newton, Kansas). Originally planned for the "Page for Mennonite Youth" it was later made a regular feature of the editorial page. In the almost eight years that the series has run, Professor Krahn has covered the history of the Mennonites from the beginning in Zurich down to the coming of the Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada seventy-five years ago, in a total of seventy-seven sketches to date.

An analysis of the subjects of the sketches gives the following picture. Four introductory articles are followed by three on the beginnings of the Anabaptist faith, one on the *Ausbund,* one on the Hutterites, one on the Amish Mennonites, one on the Swiss and South German Mennonites, and one each on the Swiss-South German Mennonites today and the Dutch Mennonites today. After a sketch of the Mennonite World Conference of 1936 four articles are devoted to the beginnings in Holland (two other gen-

eral articles inserted), then two on seventeenth-century Holland, one on Dutch relief work, and one on the Dutch General Conference. Prof. Krahn then moves on to North Germany and the Danzig area for eight sketches. From this point on the discussions are all devoted to the history of the Mennonites in Russia (thirty-seven articles) with one thrown in on "Marxism and Christianity" and one on Prof. C. Henry Smith on the occasion of his death, with the last ten articles devoted to the coming of the Mennonites from Russia to the prairie states and provinces of the U.S.A. and Canada seventy-five years ago.

This is a new, and it must be said, a very excellent kind of popular history writing for the average Mennonite reader, both young and old. Without the burden of the apparatus of scholarship the author presents unit articles which are based on solid learning but adapted for popular consumption, each unit related to what precedes and follows. Only occasionally were minor errors noted. The heavy emphasis on the Dutch-North German-Russian aspect of Mennonite history (53 sketches out of 77) can probably be accounted for by the fact that much of the constituency of the *Mennonite Weekly Review* is of this background, as well as the fact that the author is more familiar with this material. The *Mennonite Weekly Review* is to be congratulated on the service which it is rendering to thousands of Mennonites through this series, and it is to be hopel that Dr. Krahn can continue his contributions until he has covered the entire field.—*Harold S. Bender.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries: Its Genius and Its Literature. Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History No. 7. By Robert Friedmann. The Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, 1949. Pp. xvi and 287. $3.50.

It is only in recent years that Reformation scholars are seriously devoting themselves to a study of Anabaptist life and thought as revealed in the comparatively scanty primary sources which have been preserved. And almost all the writing about Anabaptism and Mennonitism by Mennonite scholars has been either in reference to current Mennonite thought and life, or concerning original Anabaptism. Few indeed are the scholars who have turned their attention to the transition from original dynamic, radical Anabaptism to the quietistic and pietistic Mennonitism which early displaced the initial life of the group. Still more rare are the scholars who are equipped with the historico-theological perspective, the intellectual power of theological evaluation and analysis, and the necessary linguistic facility to undertake such study. Fortunately for every serious student of church history, in Robert Friedmann we have such a scholar. A native Austrian, long a recognized authority in the field of Anabaptist research, especially that of the Hutterian Brethren, Dr. Friedmann brought to his present study an immense amount of learning, coupled with the necessary tools to work in the pertinent sources, and he did his work in one of the few adequate Mennonite libraries in the world, that at Goshen College. The result is precisely what one would expect, an excellent monograph which makes a significant contribution to our knowledge of Mennonite *Geistesgeschichte* (history of the development of theological thought).

The monograph is divided into two parts: first, research on the essential character of Anabaptism and Pietism respectively, and of their mutual relations; and second, a study of Mennonite devotional literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Both parts reflect an immense amount of patient research and interpretative discussion. Our author interprets his first two subjects thus: "Anabaptism was essentially a movement which insisted upon an earnest and uncompromising endeavor to live a life of a true discipleship of Christ, that is to give expression in fellowship and love to the deepest Christian faith, with full readiness to suffer in conflict with the evil world order. So long as this willingness to suffer as an expression of deepest faith, and this readiness to enter into a nonresistant struggle for salvation, was a living reality, just so long was Anabaptism a great and powerful movement. Fellowship and suffering were the outward marks, but an inmost Christian experience was the foundation which made the outward marks possible . . ." (p. 11).

"Pietism in the larger sense is a quiet conventicle-Christianity which is primarily concerned with the inner experience of salvation and only secondarily with the expression of love toward the brotherhood, and not at all in a radical world transformation. Neither Anabaptism nor Pietism lay the primary weight on theology and dogmatics; both seek the inner experience of a true piety. But, whereas in Anabaptism a decisive element is the goal of spreading the Gospel, and everything personal is pressed into the background, Pietism on the other hand is in its essence pure subjectivity . . ."

One of the interesting chapters of the book deals with our author's search for "the transfer phenomenon," from Anabaptism to Pietism, and the

area of special study is the German province of Wuerttemberg. The results are positive: the very centers where Pietism flourished had earlier been the loci of Anabaptist groups. Excellent also is the account of discussions between Anabaptists and Pietists, discussions which demonstrate the accuracy of our author's analysis of the genius of each type of thought. After tracing the spiritual changes in Mennonitism in various areas of Europe the author summarizes the contrasts between Anabaptism and Pietism on such terms as love, cross, discipleship, redemption, kingdom of God, Spirit of God, faith, and justification.

The second part of the monograph is unique, providing as it does a comprehensive survey of Mennonite devotional literature from 1600 to 1800. The author begins with Pieter Pieters (1574-1651), a Dutch writer, and continues with other writers from Holland like Johann Philipp Schabalie (d. 1656), Joost Hendricx (sic) (1572-1644), Tieleman van Braght (1625-64), Tieleman Tielen van Sittert, Leenaert Clock, and Joannes Deknatel (1698-1759). Our author then turns to such German Mennonite writers as George Hansen, Gerrit Roosen (1612-1711), Isaac van Dühren (1725-1800), as well as a number of anonymous Mennonite writings and catechisms. From Germany he goes to Switzerland and examines the literary record of the Swiss Mennonites from 1600 to 1800. A number of Swiss Brethren booklets were much used by American Mennonites since they were reprinted at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such items would include *Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen, Ernsthafte Christenpflicht,* Ausbund, and Sattler's *Brüderlich Vereinigung.*

For American Mennonites the most valuable and interesting chapter of all is the one entitled, "The Spiritual Development of Mennonitism in America," a title incidentally which differs from the folio lines thereafter in that chapter. Here the author makes a penetrating study of the literature of American Mennonitism by periods, including the issues as he sees them between the Oberholtzer church and the original brotherhood, somewhat to the disadvantage of the former. That is, Dr. Friedmann is convinced that although the Franconia Mennonites were not very dynamic in their Anabaptism in the mid-nineteenth century they did possess after all an instinctive awareness that what Oberholtzer stood for was not altogether in harmony with the basic tenets of their faith. The author does not study at all the latter nineteenth-century Mennonite emigrants from Russia who now constitute the bulk of the General Conference Mennonites.

Negative criticisms of the book are few indeed. A few typographical errors are to be found: e.g., the date 1660 on the last line of p. 242 should probably be 1690 according to data found elsewhere in the book. An occasional expression or word betrays the German background of the author, e.g., "loud" prayer for audible, p. 198. The author limits himself mostly to a study of Mennonite piety and theology, and therefore largely ignores the ordinances of our brotherhood. He also does not treat the problem of theological modernism which perturbed our group for a time after the first World War.

All in all, this is one of the most important books on Mennonitism to be published in this generation. It reflects an immense amount of study and of fine spiritual discernment. It should prove a help in stemming the process of secularization in our brotherhood. It should assist us to recapture the "Anabaptist vision." It is a book sorely needed in a day when outside influences are pulling at us from every side to induce us to abandon the nonresistant, evangelistic, and "prophetic" faith of our fathers.

Goshen College J. C. Wenger

Service for Peace: A History of Mennonite Civilian Public Service. By Melvin Gingerich. The Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pennsylvania, 1949. Pp. 508. $3.00.

The Historic Peace Churches might well think of Civilian Public Service as "The Great Experiment." It was an experiment in co-operative relations by a religious minority and a political democracy. C.P.S. was created before the United States actually entered the war. The program was worked out by the three Historic Peace Churches in mutual confidence and good faith. The government of the United States was eager to make good its claim of concern for the freedoms in its own land which it was striving for throughout the world. The Historic Peace Churches, on the other hand, were eager to display a positive attitude toward their government rather than a negative one and thus offered to do as much constructive work as their consciences would allow.

The carefully recorded account of this historical experiment is marvelously documented and fascinatingly told by Melvin Gingerich in this monumental work appropriately entitled "Service for Peace." This is more than a mere record of recorded facts. It is history at its best, reflecting in every instance the significance behind the various aspects of the peace program carried on by the Historic Peace Churches through C.P.S. This history clearly interprets the religious motives and the visions that lie behind this experiment in peaceful witnessing in time of war. The book is impressive because of its comprehensiveness and its excellent organization as well as its clear and lucid narrative style. Readers of all branches of Mennonites as well as non-Mennonites will be grateful to Dr. Gingerich for his fairness in treating the many topics, some of which were of a real controversial nature. The detailed descriptions of the pertinent facts of C.P.S. will make this the authentic and invaluable document of the peace witness of the Mennonite Church for years to come. Long after C.P.S. men and those who had an active interest in the program will have forgotten details, this book will serve as a reliable source for facts and details pertaining to projects, programs, personnel, dates, and controversial issues of the time.

The twenty-four chapters devoted to the main substance of this history, are concerned with the various aspects of the total C.P.S. program. A brief but careful background of the program is presented so as to make meaningful the reason for certain problems that developed as the war dragged on. Many people will wonder, for instance, why the government did not pay the men it drafted for work of national importance. The author makes clear why the Historic Peace Churches were willing to initiate this program by assuming the costs of operation for the men drafted. A careful analysis is also made of the problems that developed within the framework of C.P.S. during the war years. The author fortunately was intimately enough acquainted with the development and the operation of the whole program to be able to write with understanding and feeling, and yet he was not so intimately tied up with the administration of C.P.S. as to lose his objectivity.

In order to treat the total program as effectively as possible, he divides the camps according to the administrative governmental agency under which the work was done, such as Soil Conservation Service, Forest Service, National Park Service, Mental Hospital Service, and Public Health Work. Several of the units are treated in greater length so as to give a careful detailed picture of the life of a typical C.P.S. camp. All of the units are mentioned along with essential facts pertaining to dates, size, and

location of the units. Of great value in this history are the chapters dealing with religious life, the educational programs, and the financing and administration of the C.P.S. units. These are not merely subjective descriptions by the author. He has incorporated in these chapters the studies and reports that were made during and shortly after C.P.S. A valuable chapter on the Canadian conscientious objector is included and is of interest by way of comparison. The programs have some similarity but there is great variation in administration, operation, and the general results for conscientious objectors in these two countries.

There is a limit to the amount of space that could be devoted to this significant experiment, but this reviewer would like to have seen a full chapter devoted to the place of women in the C.P.S. program. Anyone even slightly familiar with C.P.S. will admit that women, whether in the home churches or as wives of drafted men, living in or near C.P.S. units, or as part of the camp staffs, had much to do with maintaining high morale in C.P.S. Too little attention was paid to this aspect of the program during the war but certainly the women who shared their husbands' and sweethearts' discomfort and sacrifices should be given credit on the pages of history.

It would also have been valuable to devote a chapter to the significance of non-Mennonite service committees and church groups. Mennonites are indebted to other church groups' exploratory interests which resulted in some of the most meaningful aspects of C.P.S. The Friends and the Brethren Service Committees and their relationship to the Mennonites deserve special mention.

An item of confusion to the reader results from the author's use of the term "Mennonite Church." Sometimes the term was used to refer to the total body of Mennonites in contrast to the Methodist, the Church of the Brethren, or the Society of Friends. At other times it was used to refer to the (Old) Mennonite branch of the church. Whether individuals are familiar with the various branches of Mennonites or not, this is bound to be confusing to readers. The volume is remarkably free from errors of fact or printing.

The author was very thoughtful and manifested his scholarly competence as a historian by including an annotated bibliography and a list of 23 appendixes. These contain important documents, tables, and statistical facts which are invaluable for the future research student and individuals interested in obtaining factual data conveniently. As one comes to the end of this valuable volume, he begins to realize what a significant witness was made by the Historic Peace Churches during World War II. Only time can fully tell how permanent and significant the witness will be. Melvin Gingerich has told accurately and effectively the part the Mennonite Church played in this corporate witness.

Bethel College J. Winfield Fretz

The Doctrines of the Mennonites. By John C. Wenger. Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1950. Pp. 160. $1.00.

This book was written at the request of the Mennonite Commission for Christian Education and Young People's Work, the concluding effort by this body in implementing the 1949 emphasis in adult education. It is thus primarily an instruction book designed for adult as well as young people in congregational classes. This purpose has determined the manner of treatment, by the inclusion: (1) of excerpts from Anabaptist and early Mennonite literature, (2) of quotations of pertinent Biblical passages, (3) of reading references in the confessions and catechisms, and (4) of study questions.

This book is an expansion of Chapter XIII of the author's *Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrines.* The chapter has been broken down into several smaller ones suitable in size for class study and expanded as stated above. The appendixes contain three confessions: the Schleitheim, Dordrecht, and Christian Fundamentals; also three catechisms: the Shorter, the Waldeck, and Roosen's.

The inclusion of these confessions and catechisms, Dr. Wenger explains, is not with the view of making the Mennonite brotherhood a creedal church. "The book is offered to our families, congregations, and schools only with the deep conviction that our spiritual heritage is truly Scriptural, and with the hope that these studies may enhance our acquaintance with our historic faith and deepen our appreciation of its truth."

No apology is necessary for a presentation of Mennonite doctrines and of acquainting Mennonites of the middle of the twentieth century as to how our doctrines were expressed by the Anabaptist and Mennonite forefathers four centuries ago. For truly there was an Anabaptist vision and we today need to recapture that vision.

The excerpts from Anabaptist and early Mennonite leaders represent typical Anabaptist thought. While one might wish at times for more copious quotation, the absence of serious divergent opinions on Christian doctrines among these leaders makes this unnecessary. Since Menno Simons is regarded by some as having held to chiliasm it would have been helpful to have included excerpts from his writings which show that he believed Christ's present reign as being Messianic and that he regarded regeneration as the *First Resurrection.*

As we seek to recapture the Anabaptist vision, the constant appeal to the Scriptures rather than to a theology will be given tremendous impetus. While the Mennonite Church has suffered greatly for want of a theology, the historic, earnest, and constant appeal to the Scriptures has been of untold strength and value. In this is found the value of the author's including under each doctrinal heading a section *Pertinent Biblical Passages.* These are carefully chosen and sufficiently ample for the author's purpose.

The impact which very properly is made upon the reader is that fundamental to Anabaptist and Mennonite thought are its unique emphases on the Bible, the church, and the Christian life. The distinctive view of the Bible is found first in the conviction that the Bible must operate in daily life. Anabaptists were concerned that the Bible function in the salvation and sanctification of men. This was far more essential than to lay stress on systems of thought or of entering into the speculative problems of theology.

This distinctive view of the Bible is shown secondly in the attitude held toward Christian ordinances and restrictions. Thus not only baptism, communion, and ordination are binding in form and spirit but also the greeting with a holy kiss, the washing of one another's feet, the anointing of

the sick with oil, the wearing of a prayer veiling on the part of women, and marriage.

This Biblicism is very strikingly exemplified in the ethic of love. Its implications are found not only in nonparticipation in warfare but also in refusing to do police service or to be a magistrate.

This Biblicism is still further shown in the general principle of simplicity of life. Thus suing at law, swearing of oaths, membership of secret societies, divorce and remarriage, wearing of jewelry, women cutting their hair, worldly recreation, and the moving picture theater, are all condemned either by precept or principle in the Bible.

Biblicism recognizes the finality of the New Testament. The Old Testament was superseded by the New. Ordinances and ethics must have New Testament sanction.

The Anabaptists and Mennonites regarded the church as a fellowship of committed disciples. This attitude led to a sense of responsibility to keep the church pure by discipline. "They also thought of the church as a corporate body achieving the will of God for society." "This involved a certain 'withdrawal' from one sector of the life of society . . . a certain 'abandonment' of non-Christian society to its own management and a concentration on the evangelization of individuals from that non-Christian society."

The heart of the Christian life is found in discipleship. Baptism does not effect regeneration; it is merely an outward testimony to one's inner experience of salvation and to one's intention to live the Christian life. Discipleship involves taking up the cross, being faithful unto death. The Christian's was a life of penitence manifested in humility of heart, sorrow for sin, and positive holiness.

Dr. Wenger concludes his work:

"The Anabaptists may never rate as outstanding and erudite theologians, but they did have sound principles of interpretation, as well as the determination to make the Bible alone the norm of their faith and practice. They held to Biblical doctrines of God, man, sin, and salvation. They had a high view of the place and calling of the church, a view which has even today not been realized by Christendom as a whole. Their ethic of love and nonresistance is sorely needed in a world of wars and rumors of war. Upon the Mennonite Church of today rests the responsibility of holding aloft the Anabaptist torch of truth, a lamp which burns with the light of divine revelation, and a beacon which can give guidance to thousands of souls as they grope for the light of life."

Dr. Wenger has made a splendid beginning in setting forth the doctrines of the Mennonites and I hope that ere long there may come from his pen what may properly be called a "definitive Anabaptist-Mennonite theology."

Eastern Mennonite College Chester K. Lehman

I Heard of a River: The Story of the Germans in Pennsylvania. By Elsie Singmaster. Illustrated by Henry C. Pitz. (Land of the Free Series. Edited by Erick Berry.) Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1948. Pp. x, 209. $2.50.

I Heard of a River has genuine merit as historical fiction in an early colonial setting. Such works usually deal solely with life on the early American frontier. Miss Singmaster has undertaken the more difficult task of first examining the European background of German immigration. Belonging, as it does, to juvenile fiction, the book omits such themes as romantic love and profound character analysis, but although the book is

written as part of a juvenile series intended for ages nine to fifteen, adult readers, also, find it interesting and informing.

The story opens in the Rhenish Palatinate in the early eighteenth century amid starvation and despair. The Thirty Years War "raging first between Catholics and Protestants in the name of religion, then between France and Austria for power" had reduced the population of Germany from thirty million to twelve million. Later came the decision of Louis XIV to lay waste the Palatinate in order to prevent the Palatines from rendering aid to his enemies, the Dutch, who blocked his path to expansion.

As the narrative begins, Anna Maria Bauman and her child, Bertha, Mennonites, have found refuge in the Friederich Berg household, a family of Lutherans. Bertha by gathering roots and bark helps to keep the stronger members of the family alive, but during the unusually severe winter old Friedrich and his wife, Magdalena, perish from cold and the lack of proper food leaving only their son, Hannes, and the two Mennonites. During the last few weeks before his death Friedrich, a gunsmith, brought from the secret place where he had hidden it from the French one of his fine hand-made gun barrels rifled by a secret process. From part of a black walnut stump, scrupulously preserved in spite of the extreme scarcity of fuel, Hannes had carved a stock and between them from scraps of iron they manufactured and assembled the lock and other parts and completed the weapon. Friedrich's last words were an uncompleted sentence giving instructions for firing it.

When spring came Bertha and her mother joined some Mennonites and hundreds of other refugees in a journey down the Rhine and through Holland where members of their own faith aided them in reaching England and sailing for Philadelphia. These earlier chapters convey a vivid impression of the devastation of the Palatinate, the humanitarianism of William Penn and the Dutch Mennonites, as well as the almost unbelievable hardships and inconveniences of travel during the early eighteenth century. The author evidently did much research on the European background of the American settler. This material occupies the first eighty pages of the volume.

The journey from Philadelphia westward through the forest along the Indian trail in company with the French trader Le Duc to the ten thousand acres of land that Preacher Herr and others had purchased on the "Peckway" about sixty miles west of Philadelphia and a few miles south of the present city of Lancaster, the Christian piety of the settlers, their strenuous toil in carving homes out of the wilderness, their joy in land ownership and in raising their first crops—all these are depicted with fidelity to Mennonite principles and character. Miss Singmaster does this type of thing well. This, even the reader who does not always agree with her interpretation or philosophy, is glad to admit. The book has value as another contribution to a sympathetic understanding of a period perennially interesting and absorbing to the student of early American life and background.

Like most local colorists Miss Singmaster deals with the more general, superficial aspects of human character. One looks in vain for profound probing into the springs of human action. But this lack does not affect the book's verisimilitude to life. *I Heard of a River* belongs to the best tradition of local color fiction.

Members of the historic peace churches who have been disappointed and sometimes a little irritated at those novels and short stories of Miss Singmaster which delight in presenting Mennonites in situations where their nonresistance to wrong or impending disaster allegedly breaks down under test, will welcome this picture of Mennonites who successfully flee

from militaristic Europe to found peaceful homes in Pennsylvania. Although a rifle made by a skilled Lutheran gunsmith in the Palatinate plays an important part in the story and ultimately conveys to the reader Miss Singmaster's opposition to the nonresistant principle, yet the rifle is not used by Mennonites but remains the property of a Lutheran boy who accompanies his Mennonite friends to their new home on the American frontier.

The rifle, hand-made in Germany by Hannes and his father and carefully hidden from the French invaders, furnishes the central thread of the novel. Its importance and preservation supplies one of the leading elements of suspense. Another, also connected with the rifle, is the meaning of the father's dying words—something, the boy is certain, that has to do with accurate marksmanship. When, near the end of the story the meaning of the unfinished sentence flashes into the boy's mind, he has the information that gives his rifle unerring aim. Both Hannes' constant struggle to retain possession of his rifle and his attempt to reconstruct his father's last words are legitimate literary devices to maintain coherence and create suspense.

The rifle becomes a symbol. On its preservation depend success, freedom, food, safety. Its loss would mean insecurity, defeat, starvation. It is the one prized possession of the Lutheran boy, Hannes Berg. He contrives various modes of concealment and guards it constantly. Several times he narrowly averts disaster by foiling the attempts of a thief somewhat vaguely described as an "evil shadow" with a "snub nose," "apelike jaw," and "little greedy eyes." When, in Pennsylvania, the French trader Le Duc finally offers to buy the rifle at an enormous price and when Hannes refuses to part with it under any consideration, the "evil shadow," incited by Le Duc, steals the precious weapon. It occupies so large a place in the boy's mind that he vows, "Though I die, I will get back my rifle!"

The author glorifies this weapon as the lifesaver of the Mennonite community because with it Hannes provides food for his friends during the winter and again during the spring and early summer before the crops ripen. It plays another important role in securing for Hannes a partnership with a certain Mennonite, Meylin, in the manufacture of rifles using Hannes' weapon as a model.

While Hannes and Meylin were completing the terms of their partnership, the Mennonites looked on, but, according to the author (whose deep convictions against nonresistance are even more clearly implied in some earlier stories) "they could not know that some day Indians would creep upon the settlements of white people, even upon the poor Germans who meant them no harm, and that unless the householder had a rifle which shot true he and his loved ones were lost." (Mennonites, of course, used their rifles only to save their crops from predatory animals and to shoot wild game for food.)

Goshen College John Umble

Before You Decide. By Howard Charles in collaboration with Jesse W. Hoover. Akron, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Central Committee, 1948. Pp. 70. $.25.

American Mennonite literature, broadly speaking, has developed along two main lines: scholarly and polemical. This booklet falls into the latter category and, therefore, is practical and popular in nature. Moreover, the subtitle suggests further aspects of the booklet: "A Quest of Christian Youth for Alternatives in an Age of Violence." Thus, it is specifically directed to American Mennonite youth.

As a matter of fact, literature with a youth emphasis is extremely difficult to write. A writer who has succeeded in scholarly writing or even popular adult materials usually has difficulty in finding the idiom of young people. In this case, the difficulties are considerably increased by the attempt to discuss the New Testament, church history, secular history, and the intricacies of alternative service. "The core of our problem is not whether it is patriotic to refuse to fight, or what our friends will think about us if we do not go to war, but whether it is right to kill." This statement of the authors concerning the core problem is then worked through Biblical and extra-Biblical materials and finally the solution is applied to war and eight other problem areas such as race prejudice, lawsuits, and labor unions. Throughout there is a sincerity which is impressive, a careful and fair use of facts and a firm Christian conviction without yielding to catch-phrases and hackneyed expressions—all this will appeal to young people!

Useful as this booklet is, it is doubtful if it has avoided the usual difficulties of a new methodology dealing with complex materials. The authors never really settled the formula of their writing. For example, after eight pages of good introduction, a kind of devil's advocate named "Joe" is introduced whose objections to nonresistance are answered in an informal way. Six pages later "Joe" suddenly disappears never to return. From there on (p. 21) the booklet flounders rather badly as popular youth material. Too few stories are used like those of the Emmenthal, Switzerland, minister who invited robbers in for breakfast and the martyrdom of the Jacob Hochstetler family by raiding Indians in 1754. Young people will find it hard to follow pages of straight analysis but will be especially attracted by illustrative materials.

In the matter of quotations it is also questionable to quote Mennonite writers in the use of secondary materials. Thus, exactly half of the citations are from the books of Guy Hershberger—but Guy Hershberger himself is seldom if ever quoted. In any case, this is too many quotations from one author.

Apart from methodology this reviewer is also not satisfied with the treatment of Civilian Public Service. My disagreement is not basic because C.P.S. did have real justification and achievement. But there is a satisfaction with C.P.S., an absolutizing of it which did not exist among the assignees themselves.

Nevertheless, this booklet will be useful and helpful. The writers tackled a very baffling problem and pioneered a new type of literature. Let us hope that the Mennonite Central Committee and other church agencies continue to produce increasingly effective literature for our young people.

Don. E. Smucker

Mennonite Biblical Seminary

The Mennonite Hymnary. By Walter H. Hohmann and Lester Hostetler, editors. Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana, and Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas, 1947. Pp. xxxix and 593. $1.40.

Handbook to the Mennonite Hymnary. By Lester Hostetler. Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas, 1949. Pp. xxix and 425. $3.00.

In the opinion of the reviewer this is one of the best hymnals he has ever seen, if not the best. The book has received praise from many sources. First of all, the variety of selections is satisfactory, for it contains all classes of sacred music. Divided into seven sections, the hymnary has general hymns for children, Gospel songs, chorales, metrical psalms, responses including

chants, doxologies, and amens, and finally a number of pages presenting aids to worship. This is a convenient arrangement of materials which facilitates the selection of hymns for particular purposes.

The task of selecting hymns that will satisfy those who will use the book is one of the most difficult responsibilities that editors of hymnbooks confront. Here is a book that shows the results of painstaking work in the selection of songs because only those hymns and tunes that have stood the test of time are included.

It does seem, however, that an explanation should have been inserted because of the conspicuous absence of recent Mennonite hymns and hymn tunes. It would seem to the reviewer that among the works of Mennonite composers and hymn writers there is some material worthy of being placed in a Mennonite hymnal and that the high quality of the book would not have suffered by such inclusions, even at the expense of some other selections. This should serve to point out that as a singing people, we Mennonites need more hymn writers and hymn tune composers.

Coeditor Hostetler of *The Mennonite Hymnary* has done a magnificent piece of work in his *Handbook to the Mennonite Hymnary*. Each hymn in the *Handbook* is discussed in the same order as it appears in the *Hymnary*. The amount of research which has gone into the writing of the book is astounding when one considers the fact that Mr. Hostetler did the work while performing pastoral duties. He has taken great pains to keep the material authentic, and all stories about hymns which could not be substantiated have been omitted except in those few instances where the editor has said that the story is not authentic and cannot be proved.

If a song leader or other interested person seeks to know facts about any song in the *Hymnary,* he need only turn to the same number in the *Handbook* where he can find discussed: the title; the hymn writer and facts of his life; facts about the hymn—its theme, background, and place in hymnody; and information concerning the composer and about the tune used. Each item is well done.

An important inclusion is the hymn in its original language. The German, Italian, Latin, and even Greek hymns are printed as they first appeared. Omitted verses and original versions are printed in such instances where the present form of the hymn is an altered one. Here is information which for duplication would require a large library of books and manuscripts.

There are, however, a few statements which the reviewer questions. Among them are these, referring to a hymn and a hymn writer: "The greatest hymn of all time" and "perhaps the greatest hymnist of all ages. . . ." It would seem better to refer to the hymn and hymn writer as "one of the greatest," or to do as is illustrated in the following statement from the *Handbook:* "Watts is often referred to as the 'father of English hymnody.'" In this latter statement we find ample room for personal opinion.

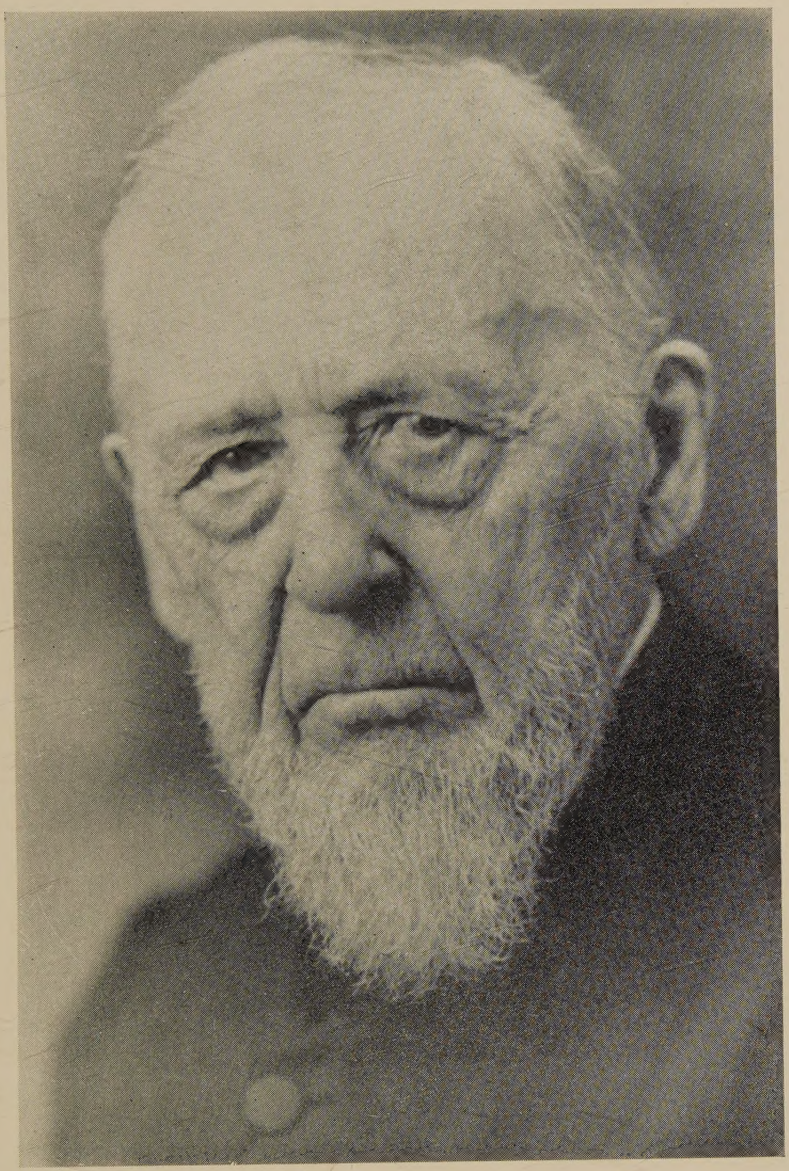
The "Introduction" in the *Handbook* is one of the best condensations of church music history which the reviewer has seen. It includes nineteen items covering the historical development of hymns from the very earliest to the present time. There is a good section concerning the definition of a hymn, another about singing of hymns, and a well-written discussion of Gospel songs. This is the sort of book which should accompany all good hymnals and should point out a task for editors and publishers of other hymnbooks.

Goshen College Dwight Weldy

(EDITORIAL CONTINUED FROM PAGE 102.)

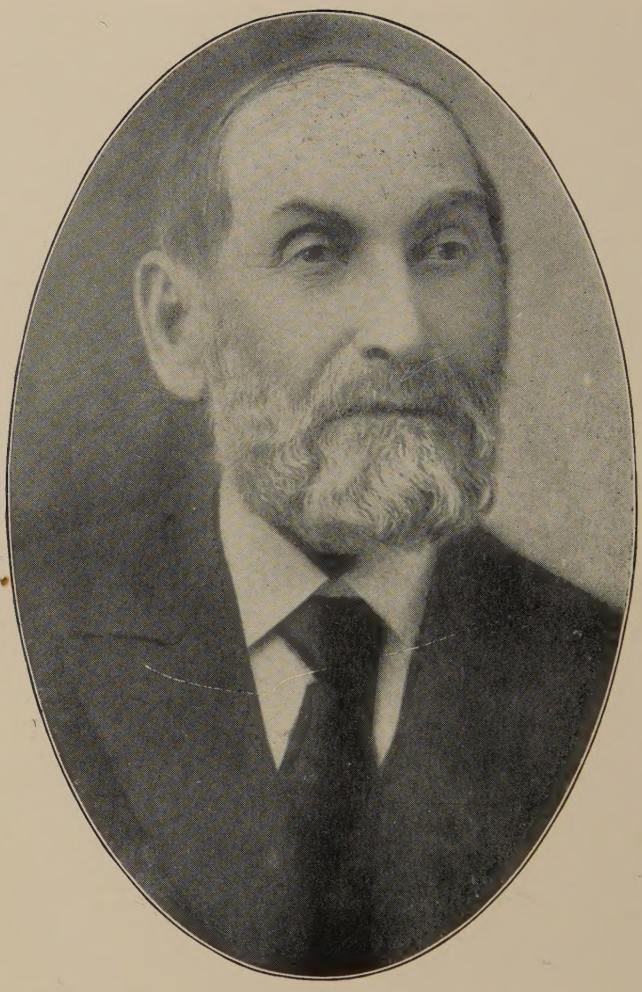
Four of the addresses here printed constitute a report on developments in European Mennonitism between the Third World Conference held in Amsterdam in 1936 and the Fourth Conference, and include a statement regarding the present outlook. Those on Germany and Holland by Pastor Dirk Cattepoel of Krefeld, Germany, and Pastor H. W. Meihuizen of The Hague, Holland, respectively, are thorough and comprehensive scholarly discussions including a searching analysis of the effect of World War II on the Mennonites of these countries. "The Catastrophe of the West Prussian Mennonites" by Pastor Lic. Theol. Emil Haendiges, for many years pastor of the Mennonite church at Elbing, West Prussia, now pastor at Monsheim, Germany, and long-time president of the Union of Mennonite churches in Germany, gives us an authentic first-hand account of the liquidation of the West Prussian churches. These three papers are of outstanding historical value. The paper on the Mennonites of Switzerland and France by Samuel Gerber, a teacher in a Mennonite rural school in the Jura Mountains, is also of much interest, even though not so comprehensive in scope. Three additional papers deal with Mennonite colonization and resettlement, particularly of the refugees from Russia following World War II. Professor J. Winfield Fretz of Bethel College reviews analytically and critically the factors contributing to the success and failure of Mennonite colonization on a broad historical basis. C. F. Klassen, who has been the director of the extensive current resettlement program for Russian Mennonite refugees, writes from first-hand experience about "Mennonite Refugees, Our Challenge." J. W. Warkentin, for a time director of the Mennonite Central Committee resettlement program in Paraguay, tells the intensely interesting story of "Carving a Home Out of the Primeval Forest" of Paraguay for one of the large blocks of refugees brought from Germany to Paraguay in the last few years. His paper is replete with interesting and authentic data on the struggles of the new settlers, particularly in the Volendam colony, as they start out with nothing but the help of their North American Mennonite brethren to create a new home for themselves. The remaining three papers deal with two of the major principles of historic Mennonitism, nonresistance and nonconformity. Professor H. S. Bender of the Goshen College Biblical Seminary reviews post-war Mennonite peace action throughout the world, Professor G. F. Hershberger of Goshen College digs deeply into the foundation and outreach of Christian nonresistance, and Professor Paul Mininger of the Goshen College Biblical Seminary gives a penetrating analysis of the limitations of nonconformity in principle and in practice.

The Department of Bibliographical and Research Notes in this number presents a thorough-going report on the nature and contents of eight significant Mennonite scholarly periodicals of Europe and America now in publication in addition to an account of the publications of the Mennonite Historical Society of Germany and the series of historical sketches appearing in the *Mennonite Weekly Review* of Newton, Kansas. No attempt is made at an absolutely exhaustive table of the contents of these periodicals, but extensive lists of the more significant articles are given. The Book Review Section contains reviews of two outstanding major books by Dr. Robert Friedmann and Dr. Melvin Gingerich, in addition to six additional reviews on briefer publications of varied character.



JOHN F. FUNK, 1835-1930

(A photograph taken on his ninetieth birthday anniversary)



Jacob Y. Shantz, 1822-1909